

Paul's Defense of His Apostleship in 2 Corinthians 10-13 and
Its Relation to the Collection For the Church at Jerusalem.

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Dedication

To Louise, my loving wife:

"In the plan of the Great Dance plans without number interlock, and each movement becomes in its season the breaking into flower of the whole design to which all else had been directed. Thus each is equally at the centre and none are there by being equals, but some by giving place and some by receiving it, the small things by their smallness and the great by their greatness, and all patterns linked and looped together by the unions of a kneeling with a sceptred love. Blessed be He!

(C.S.Lewis Perelandra, p.217)

For her dedication, sacrifice, and untiring support, I dedicate this work to her and praise our Lord Jesus Christ that He has allowed her to be my partner in the Great Dance.

Declaration

I, Scott E. McClelland, do affirm that this thesis represents my own work and has been composed solely by myself.

Abstract of Thesis

The study seeks to make a contribution to the understanding of the occasion, purpose, and arrangement of St. Paul's so-called 'Second Epistle to the Corinthians'. The work revives a somewhat neglected controversy as to the original status of the epistle's final four chapters.

The paper provides, as background, the usual compliment of 'partition' and 'unity' theories which have historically been advanced in an attempt to explain the somewhat awkward change of tone which appears to exist between chapters 1-9 and chapters 10-13 of the epistle. The burden of the work is to seek an internally recognizable link between these two sections which helps to confirm the strong external textual evidence supporting the unity and integrity of the epistle's present chapter arrangement.

Thus, by reviewing the Corinthian correspondence as a whole, with special reference to Paul's financial relationship with his churches, this study arrives at the thesis that within Paul's discussion of the collection for Jerusalem there is found this internal link which is necessary for a proper understanding of the relationship between chapters 1-9 and 10-13.

Specifically it is within the context of Paul's dramatic third visit to Corinth that he made his appeal to the Corinthians to turn away from the false teachers and to show 'active obedience' toward him, their founding apostle. In effect, Paul had determined that the Corinthian response to the collection for Jerusalem would indicate their degree of receptivity to his ministry and to his gospel. Therefore, this study maintains that the relationship between the two major sections of the epistle can best be understood as two sides of a 'pro-con' argument intended to persuade the Corinthians to contribute to the collection and, thus, to indicate that they were willing to submit to the authority of Paul as their apostle.

In the course of this study certain other contributions have been made, specifically in the area of Paul's financial relationship with his churches. Paul's somewhat contradictory statements concerning his refusal to accept financial support in principle (1Cor. 9) and his subsequent admission of having accepted such support (namely from Philippi) are reviewed and a solution is proposed.

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INTRODUCTION

Ultimately, all those who wish to engage in a discussion of some issue involving the text of 2 Corinthians must begin with the issue of the epistle's unity (if only presuppositionally). The controversy over the unity of the epistle necessarily 'colours' the arguments and results of each commentator. What one does with the final four chapters (10-13) of this epistle determines much of his view as to the occasion and purpose of the final stages of the Corinthian correspondence.

Yet, in spite of the relative importance of this issue of unity for an analysis of 2 Corinthians, we notice that there has been a significant lack of recent work on the issues involved. During the early part of this century, the debate of this issue was quite lively and unpredictable, but, more recently, it has settled into a pattern of 'side-taking'. We have permitted ourselves to fall into an uncritical malaise as to the resolution of the problem.

However, in so doing, we have often failed to deal with the implications of our adopted solutions beyond the context of the epistle itself. For there are residual questions which need to be seriously addressed in the context of the Pauline corpus as a whole.

Those of us who find the arguments for partition of the epistle to be the most logical explanation for the awkward transition between chapters 1-9 and 10-13, have,

oftentimes, failed to deal adequately with the implications of that view. We need to determine the circumstances which led to the fragmentation of two or three (possibly more) epistolary communications from Paul to Corinth. We likewise have to deal with the implications of the editorial activity of the redactor (as well as his identity) and the effect such activity may have had on the original logical progression of Paul's arguments. Finally, whatever conclusions would result from such issues, these would not be limited just to this epistle alone. They may have disastrous implications for the Pauline corpus generally.

Similarly, on the other side of the issue, that of unity, too many commentators have been satisfied with countering the proposals of the 'partition school' and have neglected to affirm their own credible solutions for the abrupt tonal change, and the 'psychological advisability',¹ for the epistle's flow of argument.

Those solutions that are offered, seem to us to be quite inadequate since they often depend upon a proposed sequence of events for which there is no corroborative support (i.e.; new information comes to Paul, after his dictation of 1-9, which indicates to him that rebellion has once again occurred; the Apostle dictates 10-13 in response). The adequacy of such solutions must be suspected since they are conveniently spared the possibility of critical evaluation and verification.

¹See p.6, n.5, below.

Therefore, there appears to be room for further discussion of the issues involved. Specifically, we hope to make a modest contribution to the issue not only by taking a fresh look at the 2 Corinthians' situation, but also by attempting to supply a more satisfactory solution for the traditional arrangement of the epistle. By focusing on what we believe to be the primary occasion for the production of the letter (the need for Corinthian participation in the collection for Jerusalem), we will strive to show that the proper understanding of this issue provides a reasonable solution for the tonal change of chapters 10-13 within the context of the argument of the epistle as a whole.

Chapter 1

"Review of the Arguments for the Unity and Integrity of 2 Corinthians"

The place we need to begin, is with a review of the unity issue and the reasons behind our acceptance of the basic integrity of the epistle's present arrangement.

The Problem of 2 Cor. 10-13

A. Schweitzer writes that the work of Weisse and Völter on possible non-Pauline interpolations, influenced A. Hausrath to present the first work which gained wide acceptance in advocating the division of chapters 10-13 from the body of the epistle.¹ In his 1870 monograph, Hausrath identified the 10-13 section as the 'letter of tears' to which Paul referred in 2 Cor. 2:4ff.²

The significance of Hausrath's view lies in the fact that other scholars seem to have received their impetus from his theory and developed it further.

¹A. Schweitzer Paul and His Interpreters London:1912, 141-145.

²A. Hausrath Der Vierkapitelbrief an Die Korinther cf. J. H. Kennedy ("Are There Two Epistles in 2 Corinthians? Expositor 5/6 (1897) 231-238, 285-304) refers to J. Semler as the first to observe the break, "more than a century ago"(231). But his partition theory of three letters received little acceptance: 1) chaps. 1-8, Ro. 16, and 2 Cor. 13:11ff; 2) 10:1-13:11; 3) chap. 9.

J. H. Kennedy was apparently the first major scholar to develop the viewpoint in the English world.³ However, he understood the 10-13 section as preserving only a fragment of the 'letter of tears'.

The debate gained the attention of an increasingly wide range of exegetical critics until it became such a controversial issue that it prompted A. Plummer, in 1915, to present a list of scholars who had addressed themselves to the issue, and to align them with the prevailing 'unity' or 'partition' theories which had gained wide acceptance.⁴ Plummer, himself, agreed with those who advocated the chronological priority of chaps. 10-13 over chaps. 1-9. He felt that the acceptance of the present order made little sense, logically or psychologically,

³The arena of debate was the journal The Expositor. Kennedy (ibid.) attempted to present three corresponding pairs of references which he believed revealed the fact that 10-13 preceded 1-9 (13:10 / 2:3; 13:2 / 1:23; 10:6 / 2:9). N. J. D. White ("Are There Two Epistles in 2 Corinthians? A Reply" Exp. 5/7 (1898) 113-123) criticised Kennedy for ignoring the external evidence of the manuscript tradition and its evidence of relatively 'pure' transmission. White advocated a view which understood Paul to be addressing two groups of readers: chaps. 1-9 - the reconciled Corinthians; 10-13 - those who remain disloyal and question his authority. Kennedy replied the very next year (St. Paul's Correspondence With Corinth" Exp. 5/10 (1899) 182-195). He criticised White for depending too heavily on external evidence. Kennedy placed a more developed argument for his position in his later book, The Second and Third Epistles of the Corinthians London:1900.

The Expositor's contribution to the debate continued in 1908 with the publication of three articles by R. Mackintosh ("Corinth and the Tragedy of St. Paul", 77-83; "The Brief Visit to Corinth", 226-234; "The Four Perplexing Chapters", 336-344; in Exp. 7/6 (1908)).

⁴A. Plummer A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians Edinburgh: 1915, xxviii. He observed four different contemporary viewpoints and their adherents.

as a continuation of Paul's argumentation.⁵

Possibly the best presentation of the view that 10-13 should be identified with the 'intermediate letter' (or 'letter of tears') was that of K. Lake in 1930.⁶ Lake based his view on two rather simple but significant points. He believed there to be an absolute break occurring between 1-9 and 10-13. Secondly, following Kennedy's lead, Lake developed the idea that the 10-13 section contained references which could be understood to refer to events or attitudes occurring prior to similar references in chaps. 1-9. Also, he believed the earlier references (10-13) contained an emotional intensity which would be expected as being consistent with the supposed purpose of the 'intermediate letter'.

Such a theory of division has gained popularity for two basic reasons. The first involves a quite satisfactory solution to the problem of the tonal change found in the 10-13 section. Certainly this section is of a more severe tone than much of the 'body' of 2 Corinthians. It is also true that if these final four chapters represent the 'intermediate letter', there is no need to speculate as to the reasons why such a letter has not been preserved (as is the case for those who argue for the unity of the epistle).

⁵Plummer (ibid.) xxix, "There is not only logical inconsistency . . . there is psychological maladroitness. The change is not only surprising in its intensity, it is in the wrong direction."

⁶K. Lake The Earlier Epistles of Paul London: 1930.

A second major reason for the popularity of this view lies in the fact that this solution fits comfortably with the proposed sequence of events which are thought to have occurred between the writing of the two 'major' epistles to Corinth.

Lake's reconstruction suffers no significant discrepancies from the allusions found in the text itself to this unknown period of time in the relationship of Paul and his church. The 'intermediate letter' (10-13) would follow the 'painful visit' alluded to in 2 Cor. 2:1. It also follows the chronological order and perspective of 2 Cor. 13:1 ("This is the third time I am coming to you").

Of course, the main obstacle to the acceptance of this view on a wider scale is obvious. Apart from some of the questions concerning editorial activity, the question of why the chronological sequence of the epistles was disturbed by the misplacement of the 10-13 letter, is fraught with pitfalls.

Because of this chronological discrepancy, there have been those critics who, while not wishing to abandon the supposed independent nature of 10-13, have argued for a preservation of the present order as representative of the actual chronology of Paul's letters to Corinth. They assign a later date to chaps. 10-13.

Contemporary with the early partition views were those of such scholars as F. W. Farrar and A. Menzies. They

failed to acknowledge that 10:1 constituted an absolute break with the preceeding nine chapters.

Farrar addressed himself to the problem in 1880. He provided the debate with a theory which has gained considerable popularity in more recent times. He understood the first nine chapters to contain a tone of reconciliation, consistent with his opinion that the crisis at Corinth had apparently passed. However, news of a renewed outbreak of rebellion within the church occasioned Paul to write in more polemical language in the final four chapters.⁷

Menzies was one of the first to maintain that the 10-13 section does not adequately fit Paul's description of the 'intermediate letter'.⁸ He believed the apparent

⁷F. W. Farrar The Life and Work of St. Paul New York:1880 415, ". . . this third part of the letter was written after the arrival of some other messenger, who bore the disastrous tidings that some teacher had come from Jerusalem whose opposition to St. Paul had been more marked and more unscrupulous than any which he had been obliged to deal."

⁸A. Menzies "The Integrity of II Corinthians" Exp. 8/6 (1913) 370, "There are pathetic touches in these chapters, it is true, as there are even in Galatians, but as a whole they are a warpiece, like Galatians, and must have filled the writer with satisfaction at having so completely expressed himself."

break at 10:1 was no more pronounced than any other point in the Pauline corpus where the Apostle ended one thought and began a new subject.⁹

Radical Partition Theories

Critics began to observe other areas within the epistle where they believed evidence of widespread editorial activity could be seen. The work of J. T. Dean in 1938 provides us with an early example of this trend.

Dean understood chaps. 10-13 to represent only a part of the 'intermediate letter'. A separate fragment of that letter was evident to Dean in the section 2:14-7:4 (a section which he described as "The Great Digression").¹⁰

⁹Menzies, *Ibid.*, 372, "The Apostle, no doubt, laid down a letter he was writing when a certain subject was concluded; and when he took it up again to add something on another subject he did not always provide a connecting phrase."

Menzies believes that Paul needed to prepare the Corinthians for his coming visit, and this factor dictated the intensity of the final chapters. Chapter 10 dealt with Paul's hope that he would not have to deal severely with them when he arrived (373). This view provides an interesting contextual linkage which may not have received enough attention from other commentators.

¹⁰J. T. Dean "The Great Digression; 2 Cor. 2:14-7:4" Expos. Times 50(1938-39) 86-89. Dean maintained that the removal of the digression also removes the difficulty of understanding the occasion of the epistle as the restoration of good relations between the Apostle and the church: "Indeed if the 'Great Digression' is removed, the letter of reconciliation becomes what we should suppose a letter of reconciliation would be - short, reserved with regard to what would recall the sad situation . . . in order to ensure that future relations should rest on a clear and firm foundation." (87)

Dean understood the epistle to be transmitted as it stands presently because of a mutual agreement between Paul and the Corinthians. Thus the fragments would be preserved, but the alteration would obliterate the seriousness of the former crisis.

It was this type of increased partitioning of the epistle which gave rise to the popularity of such theories as those of G. Bornkamm and W. Schmithals. Spurred on by the 'single archetype' literary theory, associated with E. J. Goodspeed,¹¹ these scholars were able to develop their belief that a redactor-collector was responsible for the present order of the material in the Pauline corpus.

Bornkamm's own contribution came in the area of motive. He understood the redactor of 2 Corinthians to be motivated by a general literary rule of the day which determined that warnings against false teachers should be placed at the end of such letters of exhortation. Thus,

¹¹E. J. Goodspeed Paul Philadelphia, Toronto:1947. He contended that the Synoptic Gospels and Acts reveal an ignorance, on the part of the authors, of any literary productions by Paul (213).

Goodspeed believed the various communities neglected what, he termed, were "unwelcome letters" (214). They subsequently were reduced to fragmentary form from this neglect.

The Pauline corpus was only saved from total oblivion by the publication of Acts. Goodspeed theorizes that a man, familiar with at least one Pauline letter, was intrigued to learn, from Acts, that Paul had extensive contact with other churches. His curiosity led him to begin a search for and collection of the surviving fragments. He arranged them in the order he thought best, personally providing a 'cover-letter' for the collection which represented his own interpretation of Pauline theology; the so-called epistle to the Ephesians.

faced with the fragments of Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians, he naturally placed 10-13 at the end of his reconstructed '2 Corinthians'.¹²

Schmithals understood the redactor of the corpus to be motivated in quite a different direction. The redactor was concerned in providing a unified polemical front against the growing threat of Gnosticism. Postulating no less than sixteen different epistles (excluding the Pastorals) written by Paul to at least six different communities, Schmithals states that a single redactor was responsible for collating the material into the numerically symbolic group of seven major epistles. This provided primitive Christianity with a 'perfect' (seven) corpus with which to combat the gnostic threat.¹³

The devastating effect of such radical partition theories is evident from the acknowledged possibility that the redactor-collector may have had some other purpose in mind than to re-establish the original order of the texts.

¹²G. Bornkamm "The History of the Origin of the So-called Second Letter to the Corinthians" The Authorship and Integrity of the New Testament ed. A. Q. Morton, London: 1965, 73-81.

"The first direct impression recalls the basic rule of early Christian edificatory literature, which confronts us in numerous texts and sections of texts and above all in the subsequent composition of traditional material handed down . . . the fact that the warning against false teachers is very often expressed at the end of certain writings and fragments. Behind this formal rule stands the acknowledged view that the appearance of false apostles is a sign of the last times." (78)

Bornkamm also deviated slightly from the Goodspeed framework by proposing a separate, individual redaction theory for 2 Corinthians, rather than a single archetype for all the epistles.

¹³W. Schmithals Paul and the Gnostics (Vol. II) Nashville, New York: 1972.

This allows critics to attempt their own 'reconstruction' of that original order through the discovery of certain 'breaks' in the collated text which signal, to them, unnatural joinings of unrelated fragments.

These theories have developed into a somewhat generally accepted framework of Paul's Corinthian correspondence. In the course of his work on 2 Corinthians, M. Rissi presents what has become, more or less, an established framework of the partition of the epistle: 1) apology (2:14-7:4); 2) 'letter of tears' ('der Tränenbrief', 10-13); 3) 'letter of reconciliation' ("Versöhnungsbrief", 1:1-2:13 and 7:5-16; 4) collection letters ('Kollektebriefe', 8 and 9).¹⁴

Unity or Chronological Integrity Theories

On this side of the debate, scholars have tended to develop one of the directions proposed by the views of Farrar and Menzies.

Agreeing with Menzies' minimization of the tonal shift at 10:1, R. V. G. Tasker tried to show that the tonal change was a characteristic of the Apostle's dictation style, and it could be documented throughout the corpus. Tasker answered the criticisms of Plummer by suggesting

¹⁴ M. Rissi Studien Zum Zweiten Korintherbrief: Der Alte Bund-Der Prediger-Der Tod. Zurich: 1969.

Rissi follows a general trend to view 6:14-7:1 as a non-Pauline interpolation and he does not assign it to one of the combinations of epistles found in the collated text.

that the 10-13 section effectively fulfills Paul's purpose of warning the Corinthians that, although reconciliation has taken place, no further disobedience will be tolerated.¹⁵

A more contemporary acceptance of this viewpoint is that of H. C. G. Moule. The only concession he makes to the tonal shift is to suggest that Paul felt a need to end the epistle on a strong note, in order to thwart the possibility that the opponents might find an opportunity for renewed rebellion in his reconciliatory attitude.¹⁶

There have also been developments of Farrar's basic view (that 10-13 was written on the occasion of new and distressing information reaching Paul after the writing of 1-9).

J. Munck lists a variety of solutions which have been proposed as an explanation for a 'time gap' between the ending of the 1-9 section and the beginning of the 10-13 section. Some of the solutions understand only a very short interval of time between the two sections (as a result the epistle would have been delivered to

¹⁵R. V. G. Tasker "The Unity of 2 Corinthians" Expos. Times 47 (1935-36) 55-58.

¹⁶H. C. G. Moule The Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Grand Rapids: 1962.

Corinth as a unity). However there have also been those who understand such an extensive time gap between the two sections that the 10-13 section becomes a fifth letter in their understanding of the Corinthian correspondence.¹⁷

The scholars who extend the time gap considerably, also tend to believe that the Corinthian crisis marked a major failure in the Pauline missionary endeavour.

L. Pherigo regards the reference in Acts 20, that Paul traveled to "Greece" (and not Corinth) to be an indication that Paul had by-passed the crisis ridden church after writing chaps. 1-9. Later, after Paul's arrest in Jerusalem, he received distressing news about the Corinthian situation. Unable to deal with the situation personally, Paul wrote the 10-13 letter in an unsuccessful attempt to maintain authority in that church.¹⁸

A more contemporary example of this type of extended 'time-gap' theory can be found in an article by R. Batey.¹⁹ He, too, focuses on the Acts 20 account, but understands Paul to have completed this trip to Corinth.

¹⁷J. Munck Paul and the Salvation of Mankind. Richmond, Va.:1959.

Munck had some personal reservation about the 'time gap' view; "... by the numerous points of agreement, there may have been only a short interval between the two letters. And one wonders whether the intervening period is not getting so short that, after all, the two parts are only one letter." (171)

¹⁸L. Pherigo "Paul and the Corinthian Church" J B L 68 (12/49) 341-350.

¹⁹R. Batey "Paul's Interaction with the Corinthians" J B L 84 (6/65) 139-146.

It was during this visit, however, that the events normally associated with the 'painful visit' occurred. Paul retreated into Macedonia, from where he lashed out at the community through the 10-13 epistle. Paul left the area never to return to work in Corinth again. Thus, Corinth was left in disarray and never grew to be a major centre of Christianity in the ancient world.

In more recent times, however, those scholars that are satisfied with a 'time-gap' have opted for a short interval. Such scholars as C. K. Barrett²⁰ and F. F. Bruce²¹ have popularised the view that the epistle has chronological integrity, if not actual unity.

Inadequacies of the Current Debate

1) Criticism of 10-13 as the 'Intermediate Letter'-

a) In his recent argument for the identification of Paul's opponents, D. W. Oostendorp observes that the Apostle presents polemical material throughout the entire epistle designed to discredit the criticisms of an intruding group of Judaizers. The 10-13 section may indeed represent an intensification in the polemic, but a close analysis of the 1-9 section reveals that it is only in comparison with the intense 10-13 section that chaps. 1-9 could possibly be termed 'reconciliatory'.²²

²⁰C. K. Barrett The Second Epistle to the Corinthians. London:1973.

²¹F. F. Bruce (ed.) 1 and 2 Corinthians. (New Century Bible) Greenwood, S.C.:1971 (see pp/168-169).

²²D. W. Oostendorp Another Jesus: A Gospel of Jewish-Christian Superiority in II Corinthians. Kampen:1967. (see p. 30).

b) It has been noticed that the 10-13 section does not precisely contain the features one might expect, given the description of the letter by Paul in 2 Cor. 2:4ff. J. Munck notices this discrepancy especially with regard to the lack of any information concerning the offensive individual who, apparently, was a major antagonist during the 'painful visit'. Thus, Munck declares that the lack of this information speaks decisively against 10-13 being a part of the 'intermediate letter'.²³

c) A. M. G. Stephenson effectively criticised the arguments of K. Lake and A. Plummer who presented what they believed to be parallel references from each section of the epistle, designed to show the anticipatory nature of the 10-13 references and their completion in the 1-9 section. Stephenson was able to point out that such references in 10-13 could be interpreted in a number of directions. His counter-arguments revealed that there was no set of references which necessarily established chronological dependency of 10-13 on 1-9.²⁴

d) The search for chronological dependency pointed up a major discrepancy with the identification of the 'intermediate letter' as contained in the 10-13 section.

In the account of Titus' relationship with the Corinthian church, we discover that Titus was the bearer of this 'intermediate letter' (2:13; 7:6, 13ff). In

²³J. Munck, 170; cf. F. F. Bruce 168.

²⁴A. M. G. Stephenson "A Defense of the Integrity of 2 Corinthians" The Authorship and Integrity of the New Testament ed. A. Q. Morton, London:1965, 82-97.

the 7:13 account, we receive the distinct impression that this mission was Titus' first occasion to visit Corinth. Apparently Titus was instrumental in aiding the repentance of the church.²⁵ Thus, when Paul defended his own integrity, he also defended the actions of his representatives (12:18). Paul realised that Titus had such a good experience with the church that he could confidently call upon that occasion in the defense of his own intentions toward them.

In the course of this defense, Paul refers to Titus' association with the Corinthians by the use of the aorist tense (παρεκάλεσα and ἐπλεονέκτησαν). Such a time perspective would most naturally have Paul refer to the one and only visit which Titus had, to that point, completed. Thus the 12:18 reference necessarily must be understood to have been written after the 7:13 account of Titus' visit.²⁶

²⁵Cf. C. K. Barrett, 21. Barrett opposes the idea that Titus had set the church in order during the delivery of the 'intermediate letter'. Instead, Titus had misjudged the actual situation, and had misinformed Paul that the Corinthians were willing to submit to his authority. Thus, Paul was incorrectly assuming full Corinthian cooperation while writing 1-9. Later, upon learning the true nature of the situation (continued disloyalty and disobedience), Paul wrote 10-13.

²⁶Cf. W. G. Kümmel Introduction to the New Testament (tr. A. J. Mattill) London:1966, p.

2) Criticism of 10-13 as a Later Epistle-

While this theory has become more popular in recent times (since it has the decided advantage of not challenging the almost pure external tradition of the unified transmission of the epistle), there still remains a few problems with this viewpoint.

The only possible proof for the hypothesis, some internal reference to the occasion of the 'new information' prompting Paul to write 10-13, is conspicuous by its absence. It might at least be expected that the bearer of the new information would be mentioned to confirm the reliability of the source.

The only way to reconcile this difficulty is to maintain that this 'fifth' epistle exists in fragmentary form. We recall the criticism of J. Munck against the identification of 10-13 as the 'intermediate letter' as equally effective against such a view.²⁷ The one element we might expect to be included in such a letter has conveniently been lost.

The theories of Pherigo and Batey appeal to the fact that I Clement apparently reveals that, in spite of the efforts of Paul in Corinth, there was still a need for Clement to write to the church in order to give further correction. They use this fact as evidence that

²⁷Cf. J. Munck Salvation, 170: "...it is more than remarkable that in a search for identification the one thing that was certain to be found in the letter is not contained in what is believed to be a fragment of it."

Paul was unsuccessful in suppressing opposition and strife in the church. However, while these scholars may be accurate in their description of the post-Pauline Corinthian situation, it does not necessarily point to a 'late' outbreak of discord after Paul had apparently 'calmed the storm' with chaps. 1-9. There is no external evidence whatever to guide us in determining a resolution to the question any further.

Without the necessary internal or external support for these differing theories regarding Paul's having written a 'fifth' letter, all such views which place 10-13 at any distance in time (beyond a pause in dictation) from 1-9 must remain in the realm of pure conjecture.

The Case for the Unity of 2 Corinthians

It is not possible in this study to present a detailed review of the strong external support of the manuscript tradition which establishes a very strong case for the unbroken transmission of the epistle in its present unified form. However, there are two recent studies that seem to further strengthen this already strong case.

Those scholars who advocated a single archetype as the origin of the present corpus' order, could confidently point to the fact that the textual tradition could only be traced back to a limited time, and thus the supposed redactor-collector would have finished his editorial process long before textual evidence could attest.

Evidence of editorial work seemed to be present in the text of Codex Vaticanus (B) when compared to the 2nd century text of such papyri as P66. The early stated confidence of Hort²⁸ for the purity of B was judged to be far more optimistic than the evidence would allow.

In a recent study by G. D. Fee, he noticed that the reaction of most textual critics to the publication of P66 as a witness to the Gospel of John was to regard Codex B to be a scholarly recension, possibly originating in Alexandria in the late third or early fourth century.²⁹

However, the publication of P75 by Martin and Kasser in 1961³⁰ as Bodmer Papyrus XV changed these views considerably.³¹ It was found that where P66 deviated

²⁸Westcott and Hort The New Testament in the Original Greek (Vol. II), "Introduction Appendix" (2nd Ed.) London:1896, 250-251. Hort wrote: "It will be evident . . . that B must be regarded as having preserved not only a very ancient text, but a pure line of very ancient text, and that with comparatively small deprivation either by scattered ancient corruptions otherwise attested by individualisms of the scribe himself."

²⁹G. D. Fee "P66, P75 and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria" New Dimensions in New Testament Study ed. R. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney, Grand Rapids:1974, 19-45 (see p. 20).

³⁰V. Martin and R. Kasser "Papyrus Bodmer XIV, Evangile de Luc chap. 3-24" and "Papyrus XV, Evangile de Jean chap. 1-15" Bibliotheca Bodmeriana (1961).

³¹G. D. Fee, 24: "The studies of C. L. Porter . . . and C. M. Martini . . . have demonstrated such a close relationship between this papyrus and B that there is no longer any possibility that B reflects a late third / early fourth century recension in any sense of that term."

from the agreement of P75/B, it did so by abandoning Johannine style in favour of a more common Greek. It was P66, then, which was observed to be a conscious recension of a tradition which was transmitted in an almost 'pure' state from P75 to B.³²

The point of this evidence is obvious for the present study when it is understood that the earliest known text for the Pauline epistles, P46, represents the same text-type, with approximately the same date, as P75. The 2 Corinthians text of P46, when compared to B has a similar high degree of agreement as do the texts of P75 and B for the Gospel of John. Fee's study has the effect of showing that the transmission of these texts seems to have occurred in a relatively 'pure' state from approximately A.D. 200. This evidence forces the theories of recensional activity to a far earlier date than was once believed.

Fee also proceeded to show that the most prominent figure usually considered to be a prime candidate as a redactor of the Alexandrian text, Origen, showed no interest in scholarly recensional activity.³³ This

³²Fee Ibid., 28: "The verdict is clear. The discovery of P75 now makes it certain that the text of B existed in the second century across two separate textual histories . . ."

³³Fee, Ibid., 30: "If such an acknowledged 'textual expert' as Origen in the early third century showed no particular interest in 'scholarly recensional activity' that would produce a text like P75 B, does the historical probability favor the existence of the person or the incentive to create such a text?"

evidence places further doubt on the entire hypothesis of the single archetype theory or the radical partition theories, since it leaves little time for such activity to occur and lacks an identification for its proposed redactor.

Finally, there is the interesting argument of H. Gamble who took exception to some of the conclusions of W. Schmithals with respect to the formation of the Pauline corpus.³⁴ Gamble cites the example of the textual variant which features a 'long' and 'short' ending for the epistle to the Romans as an indication that where discrepancies occurred in the text, the textual evidence accurately reflected it. For our purposes, since the textual evidence universally witnesses to a unified epistle for 2 Corinthians, the partition theories find no ground whatsoever upon which to stand, at least as far as external evidence is concerned.

Conclusions

The difficulties surrounding this debate, and the apparent lack of new evidence on the problem, may be reasons why, in the latter part of this century, fewer commentators are offering 'fresh looks' at the problem. However, anyone who closely analyses the solutions offered is struck by the considerable intangibles that remain unsolved by the two established 'sides' of the issue.

³⁴H. Gamble "The Redaction of the Pauline Letters and the Formation of the Pauline Corpus" JBL 93 #3 (1975) 411-418.

On the one hand, the very fact that 2 Corinthians appears without variation as a unity in the textual evidence cannot prove the original appearance of the letter was likewise in a unified form. It may alleviate the possibility that a redactor changed the various **originally** independent letters into a collated whole for some unspecified purpose, but it does not alleviate all the possibilities of editorialization.

For if a theory like that of C. K. Barrett's is correct, the time-gap between the two sections may have been so short that the sections may have been received in Corinth almost as if they were one letter. Indeed, Paul may well have intended 10-13 to be an addendum to the 1-9 section, in which case, later joining of the two sections may have been justified. If this is the case, it is very unlikely that evidence will ever surface which will witness to a distinction between the literary histories of the two sections.

On the other hand, however, there are some basic methodological difficulties connected with the various partition theories.

The method of analysis which finds, in digression, and tonal change, an indication of an artificial joining of unrelated contexts, rests upon quite a mechanical view of the origin of the Pauline epistles.

It is apparent that the majority of Pauline letters are the result of a dictation process. The reasons for this are many and varied, possibly associated with the conditions under which Paul 'wrote' (imprisonment), or his

inability to use the tools of writing quickly or effectively (Gal. 6:11?). In any case, a careful reading of the Pauline epistles will reveal the verbal origin of the Pauline style.

Those who have examined the personality of the Apostle, as reflected through his letters, believe that Paul's style is the "living echo of his mind".³⁵ Men such as A. Deissmann and F. W. Farrar have noticed that the Pauline personality does not easily lend itself to a rigid mechanical analysis. They both reject such methodologies.³⁶

The very nature of the dictation process involves some form of impreciseness when transferred to literary form. The possibility of interruption, changes of mood, and digressions, are heightened by the circumstances of the process itself. Each of his epistles manifests a definite, purposeful scheme, yet, even within what many consider to be his most logically organized work, Romans, his style reveals ". . . an unrestricted use of vigorous parentheses".³⁷

If, then, these are the characteristics of the man who produced such letters as 2 Corinthians, is it valid to demand that the epistle conform to some rigid

³⁵T. R. Glover Paul of Tarsus London: 1925, 195.

³⁶A. Deissmann Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History (trans. W. E. Wilson) New York: 1926; F. W. Farrar The Life and Work of St. Paul New York: 1880.

³⁷A. D. Nock St. Paul New York, Evanston: 1938, 234.

standard of composition in order to be declared authentic?

The 'break' at 10:1, 6:14, and the 'Great Digression', are not intrusions into the text, nor are they Pauline fragments sewn together, nor are they non-Pauline interpolations, rather they are the characteristic signs that the same man who 'wrote' the other members of the Pauline corpus was equally at work as the author and organizer of 2 Corinthians. Instead of labelling such 'breaks' as unnatural, the more likely assessment would be that they are quite "Pauline".

Owing to the recognized strength of the external manuscript evidence, and our belief that the basic methodology of the partition theories rests on quite unstable ground, we accept the unity position as the best solution for the current state of the debate. Yet, as we have mentioned, those who accept such a position have a responsibility to attempt to provide an explanation for what admittedly seems to be a 'break' in the Pauline argument in 2 Corinthians 10-13 with the 'main body' of the epistle. This will necessarily affect our interpretation of what has come to be termed 'Paul's defense of his apostleship' contained in those final four chapters.

Residual Questions From the Acceptance of Unity

Given our acceptance of the unity position for the composition of 2 Corinthians, we need to ask: Can we discover a linkage of the two major sections of 2 Corinthians (chaps. 1-9 and chaps. 10-13) which satisfactorily accounts

for the abrupt change of tone in 10:1ff and which remains consistent with a holistic view of the occasion and purpose of this epistle in accordance with our presupposition of unified literary composition? It is with the solution of this question that our thesis is concerned. We propose to find an internal link between these two sections which will confirm the findings of the external manuscript tradition.

Chapter 2

"The Collection: Its Origin and Significance"

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The Origin of the Collection

1) Jerusalem's Need - Originally the collection appears to have been undertaken as an extension of the loving concern of the Antioch Church for their brethren in Jerusalem who had suffered from the effects of a widespread famine.¹

Apparently, a short-sighted socialistic economic policy² was responsible for leaving the Jerusalem church community ill-prepared for the generally recognised famine that plagued Palestine during the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54).³

J. Jeremias observed that the year 47-48 (autumn to autumn) would have been a "Sabbatjahr", having the effect of artificially increasing the food shortages through the prohibition of agricultural activity.⁴

Beyond these alarming shortages, it is also possible that the hostility which arose against the Jewish-Christian community, from their non-believing

¹Acts 11:30 records the 'famine visit' and the delivery of Antioch relief aid to Jerusalem; Cf. K. Nickle The Collection: A Study in Pauline Strategy Naperville, Ill:1966, 26, for the view that Antioch's aid was in recognition of Zion's eschatological role, its significance as the Church's historical centre, and the base of operation for the Twelve; also D. Georgi Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem Hamburg-Bergstadt:1965.

²Cf. Acts 4:32-5:11; the policy was possibly due to eschatological expectancy.

³Cf. Josephus Ant. 111 15, 3; XX2,5; 5,2; Suetonius Claud. XVIII 2; cf. Acts 11:28; 12:20 - likely beginning of famine-late 44, early 45.

⁴J. Jeremias "Sabbatjahr und N.T. Chronologie" ZNW 27(1968).

Jewish brethren, brought about further economic hardship to the young church. The attack against Stephen reveals no hesitancy from the Jewish community in Jerusalem to openly oppose the Christian sect (6:8ff).

Therefore, we apparently are on solid ground with the assumption that there was indeed a grave need on the part of the Jerusalem church community to receive financial aid.⁵

2) The Development of the Collection - An Obligation?

It seems credible to understand Gal. 2:10 to preserve the first intimation of the collection's development. Yet, the reference itself sheds precious little light on the reasons for, or purposes behind, the collection's widespread institution in the Gentile churches of Paul.

Even on the question of chronology we have no firm footing. For one's view of the date of the agreement is necessarily linked to one's alignment of Gal. 2 with either the 'famine visit' of Acts 11, or the 'Apostolic Council' of Acts 15.

Further complicating the matter is the way in which Paul includes the agreement in his recollection of his second visit to Jerusalem. The Apostle relates that the agreement on the issue of missionary strategy had been

⁵Cf. Nickle *Op cit*, 28; also G. S. Duncan St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry London: 1929, 233; and F. Rendell "The Pauline Collection for the Saints" Exp. 4/8 (1893), 322, Rendell also believed that the Jerusalem church would have been, of necessity, a centre for Christian hospitality and under constant pressure to support missionaries, thus draining their resources.

reached between the 'Pillars' (στῦλοι) and Paul's company (Gal. 2:9). While Paul directly refutes the idea that the agreement had placed any conditions upon his ministry (ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο , 2:6), his statement concerning the 'remembering of the poor' in v. 10, leaves the impression that, as part of the agreement, this one factor was considered obligatory on Paul's part (μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύαμεν , 2:10).

A. Harnack understood the collection endeavor to have commenced upon the recognition of Paul's apostleship by the Jerusalem church, indeed, it was a major factor in their recognition of him. This view is consistent with Harnack's conception that the responsibility for collecting tribute for Jerusalem from the Diaspora was a major component of the Jewish 'apostolic' office, which, he believes, was the precursor of the primitive Christian apostolate.⁶

Thus the motivating factor for Paul's administration of the collection, under Harnack's view, would rest on a personal, self-actualising level, rather than on a true concern for the needs of the Jerusalem church. This view forces us to conclude that, need or not, Paul would have, of necessity, proceeded with a collection project if

⁶ A. von Harnack The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (trans. J. Moffatt) Vol. I, London:1904, 413.

for no other reason than to reveal the reality of his apostolic calling.⁷

While we will wish to allow for the self-actualising potential of the collection, we continue to understand this, and all other residual effects of the project beyond that of strict financial aid, to be of subordinate importance as a motivation for Paul's participation.⁸

Other commentators have also understood the collection to have been an obligation on Paul's part which was rewarded by continued recognition of his apostolic standing by Jerusalem.

Nickle, for instance, believes that the force of the obligation was centred on Paul's attempt to prove the legitimacy of his apostolic calling.⁹ Thus, instead of accepting the project as a duty associated with the recognition of legitimacy, Paul administers the fund in order to convince Jerusalem of the truth of his apostolic claim.

⁷Harnack, *Ibid*, 413: Harnack inserts a cautious word in order to avoid just this conclusion. He states that the obligatory nature of the collection may only have been the understanding of Jerusalem, not necessarily of Paul.

⁸Cf. L. Hurtado "The Jerusalem Collection and the Book of Galatians" *JSNT* 5 (1979) 46-62, see p. 47: Hurtado notes that Paul's primary representation of the fund to his churches continually emphasised "Christian fraternal brotherhood".

⁹K. Nickle, 28.

However, we find that the major flaw in Nickle's view lies in the positioning of the relevant passages in Gal. 2. Rather than being the means by which Paul's apostolic claim is measured, the collection appears to be a mutually shared concern which is reaffirmed by the two independent branches of the Christian missionary endeavour.

W. Franklin reads Gal. 2:10 in such a way that he believes a compromise had been reached between Paul and Jerusalem which had the effect of changing what had been a voluntary fund (Antioch famine relief) into an obligatory part of Paul's ministry. He understands Paul to have been seeking Jerusalem sanction for his Gentile missionary thrust. Thus, he accepted the collection obligation as a proper vehicle for the submission of the Gentile churches to the centralised authority in Jerusalem.¹⁰

Modifying this type of viewpoint are the theories of D. Georgi and B. Holmberg. In their own way, each of these men understand Paul to have accepted the collection both as an obligation and as a symbol of submission, initially. However, they believe that, at some point in Paul's administration of the offering, he realized that the collection stood more as a witness to his own particular missionary effectiveness. He thus

¹⁰W. Franklin Die Kollekte des Paulus (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Theologische Fakultät der Rupprecht-Karls Universität zu Heidelberg) Scottdale, Pa.:12.

reinterpreted the significance of the fund, and decided to accompany the collection to Jerusalem as a tangible manifestation of his own unique apostolic authority.¹¹

We agree with the evaluation of W. D. Davies as to the contribution of this viewpoint,¹² in that it reveals that Paul may have certainly realized that a successful collection project would manifest the success of (and justification for) the Gentile mission. Yet, we do not share the understanding of Holmberg and Georgi that a change in interpretation of the collection is indicated in the evidence, nor is necessary for their own views.¹³ Paul's own conception of the revelatory nature of his Gentile ministry, as evidencing the grace of God at work, is found in his epistles generally (Ro. 15:15; 1 Thess. 2:7) and in the Corinthian correspondence specifically (1 Cor. 2:1-5; 9:1-2; 15:9-11; 2 Cor. 3:1-3; 5:20; 12:9; 13:3).¹⁴ The ministry of the collection, then would

¹¹B. Holmberg Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles (Coniectanea Biblica Series 11) Gleerup: 1978, 42; D. Georgi, 25-39.

¹²W. D. Davies The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine Berkeley:1974, 216.

¹³Specifically, we are not convinced by Georgi's understanding of the aorist tense in Gal. 2 to be indicative of the fact that Paul had just changed his interpretation of the collection contemporary with his writing of Galatians.

¹⁴Cf. R. Schnackenburg "Apostles Before and During Paul's Time" (trans. M. Kivian, W. Gasque) Apostolic History and the Gospel ed. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, Grand Rapids: 1970, 287-303; also J. Schütz The Anatomy of Apostolic Authority Cambridge:1975, 38.

naturally be understood to be manifesting the effectiveness of God's grace, and not incidentally, the effectiveness of Paul as an apostle.

Apparently the indefinite nature of Paul's obligation to the collection frustrated some members of his own congregations, as well as commentators today. In a recent article, L. Hurtado has expressed his thesis that Paul included the Gal. 2:10 comment about 'remembering the poor' precisely to defend himself against the misunderstanding that the collection was, indeed, an obligation.¹⁵ Paul found it necessary to explain his project in the context of his claim that nothing had been added to his ministry by the 'Pillars'.¹⁶

Hurtado understands Paul's use of *μνημονεύωμεν* as an effort to present the fund in such a way as to emphasize its nature as a continuation of support for Jerusalem, and not as a new condition placed upon Jewish-Gentile relations.¹⁷

In any event, we doubt the assertions made by some of these scholars that Paul felt any necessity to 'prove' his apostolic calling to anyone. We find it very unlikely that the Apostle would accept any restrictions or obligations placed upon his ministry which would suggest his dependence upon Jerusalem for authority or direction.

¹⁵L. Hurtado, 46-62.

¹⁶Hurtado, 51; cf. F. F. Bruce "Galatian Problems 1" *BJRL* 51 (1968-69) 303-305.

¹⁷Hurtado, 52; cf. Davies, 199.

Paul's argument in Galatians militates against just such an interpretation. He 'takes pains' to present his independence, explaining that he has had minimal contact with Jerusalem. The contact which he did reveal, also revealed his intention to emphasize the need for unity in missionary strategy,¹⁸ but in no way does he suggest Jerusalem directed his mission.

Are we then to believe he off-handedly mentions this one condition in 2:10 which has the effect of negating his arguments?

Rather, it appears that the collection originated as a mutual concern of Jerusalem and the Pauline party to continue to bring tangible aid to those in Jerusalem who were afflicted.

Additional Significance of the Collection

While the collection originated with a primary goal, it may not have proceeded too far before the additional significances, associated with a concerted Gentile contribution to the predominantly Jewish-Christian community at Jerusalem, may have been recognized. It is evident that such a mission would necessarily have wide-spread implications for the success of the Gentile mission generally, and for that mission's Apostle specifically.

1) Unity-

From its inception, the project had apparently

¹⁸Cf. Gal. 2:2.

been recognized for its importance as an explicit demonstration of ecclesiastical unity. Certainly, the fund would have been effective in helping to heal old wounds, or to prevent new ones.¹⁹

Thus, quite possibly, at an early stage of its development, the fund had this recognized additional significance for the unity of the Church.

Paul continued to maintain that the primary importance of the fund lay in its relief of economic affliction, and a demonstration of brotherly love.²⁰ However, he also was interested in forming, within the Gentile congregations, an appreciation of the Jerusalem church as the place of origin for the missionary endeavour which was effective in introducing them to the Gospel message (Ro. 15:27).²¹ This appreciation would be instrumental in providing a motivation for Gentile support of the offering, while also having the effect of establishing true fellowship through an understanding

¹⁹W. Franklin, 52, 54; describes the aspect of unity as the "ideelle Zweck" of the collection.

²⁰Hurtado, 47; cf. Nickle, 4; also our own discussion of the 'triangular relationship' in 2 Cor. 9, below.

²¹Cf. Paul's conception of the material/spiritual exchange, Ro. 15; 1 Cor. 9:11; 2 Cor. 8:14; also Davies, 201; and K. Holl "Der Kirchenbegriff der Paulus in Seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde" Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte 2: Der Osten. Tübingen: 1928. 44-67.

of the reciprocal indebtedness which was to be one of the results of this giving/receiving relationship.²²

2) Personal Verification For Paul-

As we have suggested earlier, the successful completion of the collection project would reveal the obedience of the Gentile congregations to the demands of the gospel, and as such, the proper establishment of those churches in that gospel by Paul's ministry. Thus, for Paul, while it was not his primary purpose to reveal the validity of his unique apostolic calling, he certainly would have been aware that such an implication was interwoven into the very fabric of the project itself.²³

3) Eschatological Significance?-

Though we have scant evidence from which to draw, Paul's administration of the collection might well reveal that he believed the fund to symbolize a major event in the eschatological understanding of the church. Possibly he had in mind something similar to the 'gathering of the nations' as expressed in such a passage as Isa. 66:18-20.²⁴

²²Cf. 2 Cor. 9:13-15; Holmberg, 37; "... the significance of the collection is connected with ecclesiology or the conception of what the church is."

²³This implication is noticed by a few commentators, among them are: G. Bornkamm "The Letter to the Romans as Paul's Last Will and Testament" (19-20) and J. Jervall "The Letter to Jerusalem" in The Romans Debate ed. K. P. Donfried, Minneapolis:1977; E. Haenchen The Acts of the Apostles Philadelphia:1971, 612-614.

²⁴Cf. K. Berger "Almosen für Israel" NTS 23 (1976-77) 180-204; the collection reveals the continuance of the theological understanding of 'alms for Israel' given by Gentile God-fearers who shared the confession of the one true God; Cf. Hurtado, 56; Nickle, 28; Holmberg, 40.

When we notice the number of similarities between Paul's administration of the project and the well-established half-shekel temple tax, which was an obligatory payment due from each Jewish male²⁵, we can agree with Nickle that these similarities are ". . . too numerous to have been coincidental."²⁶

Briefly we can notice the similarities which Nickle has enumerated: 1) the money was delivered to Jerusalem²⁷; 2) delivery took place at Pentecost²⁸; 3) representatives from participating communities delivered the offering²⁹; 4) money was collected at central receiving points³⁰;

²⁵Cf. Nickle, 75ff; Duncan, 38-54; Hurtado, 48; M. Goguel The Primitive Church (trans. H. C. Snape) London: 1964, 96.

²⁶Nickle, 87.

²⁷Nickle, 87. Of course this may be coincidental since this was the location of a real economic need.

²⁸Nickle, 82: He believes there is an inconsistency here in that the temple-tax was delivered from the distant Diaspora at the Feast of Tabernacles. However, Duncan, 234, appears closer to the truth when he points out that Pentecost was the time for offering 'first-fruits'. This would be more appropriate for the symbolic expression of the significance Paul attached to the formation of the Gentile church.

²⁹Cf. Acts 20:4ff; also, Duncan, 40-41: He cites the decrees of Augustus, Agrippa, and Jullus Antonius (proconsul of Asia, B.C. 4) as evidence that the Jews had secured official permission to send delegates to Jerusalem with the collected tax; cf. Goguel, 96; K. Lake "The Twelve and the Apostles" (Note VI) Vol. V: Additional Notes to the Commentary (ed. Lake and Cadbury): The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, The Acts of the Apostles (ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake) London: 1933, 37-59.

³⁰Nickle, 88: He believes these centres to have been located at Ephesus, Philippi, and Corinth. However, Paul's apparent surprise at Macedonian participation may rule out Philippi.

5) a regular time was established in which the participants would contribute³¹; 6) care was taken to avoid any impropriety³².

Nickle concluded that Paul primarily used the form of the temple-tax because it readily served the same purpose for Paul as it had in Judaism; a tangible expression of ecclesiastical unity.³³ Yet, we would be inclined to understand the force of the borrowing not in the direction of an 'imitation', but, rather, in the direction of a 'reinterpretation'. Paul may well have intended to use the temple-tax form in a redirected way, and thus, present his collection project as a 'redeemed temple-tax'.

Certainly we have scant evidence to make too much of this concept. However, it would not be inconsistent with the Pauline understanding of the gospel to speculate that he may have appropriated the temple-tax form to symbolize the unity and maintenance of the new Israel.³⁴

³¹At least this seems to have been true in the congregations at Galatia and Corinth (1 Cor. 16:1ff).

³²However, in the case of the Corinthians, there were many factors associated with the church's suspicions about Paul's administration of the collection which apparently led to a delay in their participation.

³³Nickle, 99: "It was precisely because the symbolism of the temple-tax corresponded so precisely with the hopes for the unity of the church which Paul had invested his project that he was led to borrow and use so many aspects of that tax."

³⁴Cf. W. D. Davies, 188-195: Davies argues that Paul substituted the Church, as the new dwelling place of the Spirit, as a new shrine in place of the Temple. However, he also believes that Paul, like the Pharisees and the Qumran community, continued to venerate the Temple and the city of Jerusalem as his ultimate geographical base.

4) Conclusions-

We have attempted to show that the collection project, as administered by Paul in his Gentile communities, developed in such a way as to gain additional significance beyond that of its primary purpose of relieving the economic hardships of the Jerusalem church community.

Certainly the implications for the unity and brotherhood of the church are obvious results of the project's scope. But we also noticed that the fund manifested a measure of the effectiveness of the Pauline preaching endeavor, and its consistency with the primitive church's understanding of the gospel message. Thus, while we have asserted that the Apostle Paul had not undertaken the collection project with an understanding that its successful completion was required in order to have his apostolic legitimacy recognized, we do acknowledge that, as a consequence of a successful offering, his status as an apostle would necessarily be recognized.

Finally, we noticed that the actual form within which the offering was administered, may point out the fact that Paul understood the collection to have a symbolic function in the demonstration of the belief that the Church was the new community of faith, and could be rightly understood to be the 'new Israel'.

Perhaps lending credence to this final conclusion, it appears that our understanding of the opposition which Paul faced during his missionary enterprises might not have been directed against doctrinal issues

alone. Rather, we will wish to review the opposition Paul received from the various Jewish communities which were located in the cities in which Paul ministered, to corroborate our belief that a 'redeemed temple-tax' collection format may well have received direct opposition from these communities specifically because it appeared to them that the collection posed a threat against the continued maintenance of the Jerusalem Temple and, ultimately, a threat against the continued existence of the Temple.

Chapter 3

"Jewish Opposition to the Collection"

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1) Background- The Jewish 'Apostolate'

Various arguments have been adduced for the view that the primitive Christian apostolate stemmed directly from the Jewish 'office' of apostle.

A. Harnack cites early patristic witnesses such as Justin (Dial. xvii; cviii; cxvii)¹, Codex Theodosianus (xvi. 88.14)², and Epiphanius (adv. haer. xi; xxx.4.16)³, among others, as evidence for an organized Jewish counter-mission against Christianity. Such members of this mission would have been sent out to slander the message of Jesus, as well as his followers.⁴ Although M.Goguel rejects the evidence from Justin as implying an actual counter-mission of Jews hostile to the young Christian movement, he does agree with Harnack that the form of the Christian apostolic office had its origin in a similar office which existed in Judaism. Their basis for this view rests on the improbability of Judaism having borrowed such an office from Christianity.⁵

¹A. Harnack The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, 65,n.2.

²Harnack, 411.

³Harnack, 412-413.

⁴K.Lake "The Twelve and the Apostles", 37-59.

⁵Harnack, 409; M.Goguel, 98; cf. H.Vogelstein "The Development of the Apostolate in Judaism and its Trans-Formation in Christianity" Hebrew Union College Annual Vol.II (1925):99-123, see p.109; W.D. Davies Paul and Rabbinic Judaism London:1965, 16.

It is Harnack's assertion, that in the function of collecting tithes from the dispersed communities of believers, the Jewish and Christian 'apostolates' coincided most closely.⁶ However, it cannot be documented that Judaism used the term 'apostle' for their representatives, nor can it be proven that an organized collection for the Jerusalem Temple, initiated from Jerusalem, existed prior to the fall of the city in A.D. 70.⁷

It might well be the case that we will not be able to discern just which portions of the Pauline apostolic concept are borrowed, or are genuinely creative. The vast number of available influences within which such a concept could be shaped are as diversified as is the definition of what it was to be a Hellenistic Jew. However, for our purposes, there are a number of interesting factors related to Paul's concept of his apostleship which may be at risk in the situation at Corinth.

⁶Harnack, 413; Vogelstein, 119.

⁷K. Lake, "The Twelve and the Apostles", 50, cites Philo who records that prior to 70 A.D. the collected funds were brought to Jerusalem by specifically designated envoys; cf. D. Gowan Bridge Between the Testaments Pittsburgh:1976, 268.

Both W. Schmithals and J. Schütz believe there was no need, prior to A.D. 70, to send out representatives from Jerusalem to gather the tax. But, apparently, after the Temple was destroyed, the motivation for continued contributions was lacking. This prompted such an organized collection from the centralised authority of Judaism at that time: W. Schmithals The Office of the Apostle in the Early Church New York: 1969, 98-110; J. Schütz, 26ff.

The point at issue is not whether Paul borrowed an official title and office from Judaism to use for his own purposes,⁸ but, at issue is the question of whether, in his capacity as an independent member of the Christian missionary endeavour, using the title of 'apostle', he conducted certain aspects of his ministry in such a way as to offend and, ultimately, receive active opposition, from Christian- and non-Christian-Jews who believed his actions to be directed against continued Jewish veneration of the Temple?

We need not at all confront the complicated issues of the origin of the term 'ἀποστολος' nor its relation to the office of the *ḥazzan*. All we need to observe is the fact that, prior to the fall of Jerusalem it seems to be an established fact that Diaspora Jewry designated certain of its members to deliver the local temple-tax to Jerusalem. Similarly, this is the very form in which the Pauline administration of the collection was conducted.

From 1 Cor. 16:3-4 we learn that it was Paul's intention, at least with regard to the Corinthian church, that certain men from the local congregation would deliver the collection funds to Jerusalem. Apparently Paul had not decided if he, too, would make the journey

⁸Harnack, 67: On the basis of a reference in Eusebius (on Isa. xviiiiff.), he believed Paul to have been "a (Jewish) 'apostle' before he became a (Christian) apostle."

(though he appears to have made this decision in the affirmative before the writing of 2 Cor. 9:11). Also, we find the company of collection representatives (although they are not so-designated) accompanying Paul through Greece (Acts 20:4), and presumably others joined the final party who journeyed to Jerusalem.

Significant for our purposes, then, is the fact that Paul's collection project is decidedly a Gentile offering designed to demonstrate the reality of God's grace among the Gentiles, and to foster a sense of Gentile-initiated service to Jerusalem. We are not to understand the collection as a Jewish initiated program for which Paul attempted to gain Gentile support. The initiation is clearly to be understood as originating in the Gentile churches (and their Apostle). Thus, these representatives deliver the fund to Jerusalem to demonstrate Gentile solidarity and their establishment in the gospel. If it were a mission which had originated in Jerusalem, there would have been no need for accompanying local representatives. Those who had been 'sent-out' to collect the funds, would be expected to be the only ones to return.

It is in their capacities as ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν (2 Cor. 8:23; cf. the role of the Epaphras in Phil. 2:25) that these representatives from the participating communities most clearly resembled the Jewish bearers of the temple-tax.⁹ The implications of this similarity in

⁹Cf. Vogelstein, 119.

form between the Christian Jerusalem collection and the Jewish Jerusalem temple-tax would be obvious to every adult male Jew. Paul was administering a fund which could only be interpreted to be a separate, rival, temple-tax which had the effect of drawing support away from the Jerusalem Temple.

Such a collection may indeed have been interpreted to be a direct attack upon the Temple and its prospects for continued existence. This policy, and its shocking implications, would be confronted with direct opposition from the Jewish community, and may have received little or no support from the Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem for fear of a backlash against their community by neighboring Jewish reactionaries.¹⁰

Therefore, we may have cause to understand that Paul's administration of the collection, paralleling that of the traditional Jewish temple-tax, may have subjected his ministry to more severe Jewish opposition than we have heretofore estimated. This possibility receives some support when we notice the circumstances associated with Jewish opposition to Paul as reflected in the book of Acts and in his epistles.

¹⁰ Cf. Ro. 15:31; Gal. 2:12; W. Schmithals Paul and James (trans. D. M. Barton) Naperville, Ill.:1965.

2) Specific Jewish Opposition to Paul-Related to
the Administration of the Collection?

a) Galatia

Referring again to the Gal. 2:10 passage,
Hurtado believes certain misunderstandings as to the
obligatory nature of the collection, and Paul's relation-
ship to Jerusalem, may have been under suspicion by the
Galatians because of their familiarity with the Jewish
temple-tax procedure and the official function of the
לִשְׁלֹחַ .¹¹

Further, Hurtado has a unique understanding of
Paul's discussion in Gal. 6:6-10.¹² In a section of
the epistle which has generally been regarded as composed
of miscellaneous exhortations, Hurtado believes Paul
provided specific appeals for the Galatian participation
in the collection. He bases this understanding on
the similarities of terminology between this section and
other Pauline references to the collection: 1) v. 6-material/
spiritual exchange (Ro. 15:27; 1 Cor. 9:11; 2 Cor. 8:14);
2) vv. 8-9- sowing/reaping (2 Cor. 9:6-9). Beyond this,
Paul appeals to the Galatians to render their service toward
τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις (v. 10) which term, Hurtado believes, may
have acquired a significance as a technical term for
Jewish-Christians.¹³

¹¹L. Hurtado, 48.

¹²Ibid, 53-62.

¹³Ibid., 58: He cites L. Gaston (No Stone on Another
Nov. Test. Supplement 23, Leiden: 1970, 191-192) as
proposing that this term had become a Jewish-Christian
self-designation.

From Hurtado's study, we may well be able to conclude that at least some misconception about the collection and its administration had surfaced in the Galatian church, requiring a clarification from the Apostle. Further, we notice that there was a need for Paul to exhort the church toward participation. This might give further support to the theory that the fund was a controversial subject, and needed Paul's specific attention in Gal. 6:6-10.

Are we to understand that Paul encountered some opposition to the offering in Galatia? Possibly the lack of specifically named Galatian representatives in Acts 20:4 reveals an affirmative answer to this question. If this is true, are we to assume the opposition to have originated with the church membership itself, or at the instigation of the so-called 'Judaizers' who apparently infiltrated the region?

While there may not be a specific answer to such a question in the evidence of the epistle, itself, we may be able to at least speculate that the temple-tax parallel would only be evident to, and offensive to, Jewish members of the Galatian congregations, or to the proposed Judaizer group. Their specific complaint may have been that the Pauline administration of the collection actively sought to re-direct Jewish-Christian contributions from the Temple to the 'new' Jerusalem collection. At the very least, those Jewish-Christians who contributed to the Jerusalem fund may not have felt a great urgency to make a separate

contribution to the Temple as well.¹⁴

b) Ephesus

G. S. Duncan addresses himself to the possibility that opposition to Paul at Ephesus was instigated by the Jewish community. He states quite explicitly that their opposition was based on their conception of the collection's threat to the potential temple-tax contributions.¹⁵

It is this confrontation of offerings which, Duncan believes, led to Paul's 'first' imprisonment in Ephesus on the charge of 'temple-robbery'.¹⁶ Duncan understands the Acts 19:37 reference to such a charge to be indicative of the allegations brought against Paul by the Jewish community at Ephesus, who sought to garner Gentile support for their persecution of the Apostle. As we mentioned earlier, the Jews would have been able to appeal to Imperial edicts which guaranteed the safety of the temple-tax from any and all detractors.¹⁷

c) Corinth

Paul's difficulties with the Jewish community at

¹⁴Certainly, if W. D. Davies is correct that Paul may have had a new conception of the relation between the church and the Temple, it is quite likely that non-Christian Jews may have interpreted the Apostle to be preaching a neglect of the shrine, and ultimately in their view, the end of its unique meaning in the true worship of God; cf. J. Munck The Salvation of Mankind, who believes the collection delivery was consistent with Paul's belief that the gospel among the Gentiles would induce the Jews to jealousy (Paul's "envy scheme").

¹⁵G. S. Duncan, 44.

¹⁶Duncan, *Ibid.*, We hesitate to accept all of Duncan's neatly fitting scenario, but some aspects of his theory merit consideration.

¹⁷See p. 38, n. 29, above.

Corinth are well documented in Acts 18. His decision to become exclusively Gentile-oriented in evangelism (18:6), and the charges brought against him before Gallio (18:12ff), illustrate the opposition he faced. While we understand that much of the opposition against Paul was based on his doctrinal presentation, however, we might also add that the institution of the collection could have added to the intensity of the Jewish animosity against him.

While there may be no direct reference to the collection in Acts 18, we do notice, upon another occasion of Paul's visit to Corinth, there may well be an indication that Jewish opposition was connected to the collection issue. In Acts 20:2-3, at the completion of the journey upon which Paul presumably expected to gather the Corinthian contribution to the collection, Paul's travel plans were interrupted by a Jewish plot against him. This plot may be related to his other difficulties, as reflected in Acts 18, however, the anti-Pauline feelings may have been intensified during this particular visit since the collection would have been a major topic of interest during his stay in Corinth.

d) General References

Unfortunately for our viewpoint on this matter, the author of Acts reveals a questionable lack of interest in the collection project at all. Therefore, we have little explicit scriptural evidence upon which to ground our theory. However, in one or two other accounts in Acts, we may have indications of Jewish opposition to the collection which,



taken together with the evidence we have already cited, might at least make such a theory plausible.¹⁸

1) In Acts 17:4, Paul is recorded to have been preaching in a Thessalonian synagogue with some success among certain Jews and God-fearing Gentiles. This success, we are told in v. 5, resulted in an attitude of jealousy on the part of the remaining members of the synagogue. Thus, they are recorded to have instigated a riot which placed Jason and some unnamed members of the Christian community in prison (17:5-9). Later, when it was learned that Paul had traveled on to Berea, these same Thessalonian Jews journeyed there in order to incite further unrest.

¹⁸We read about the collection only once; in Paul's defense before Felix (24:17). Yet even in this account, Paul is recorded as being quite vague concerning the nature of the fund.

B. Holmberg, 43, believes that Paul's arrest in Jerusalem (during the collection's delivery) discredited the project, causing the author of Acts to avoid mentioning the offering at all: "This may account for the remarkable silence about it in Acts . . . being somewhat of a missionary and diplomatic catastrophe, it was best to pass over it in merciful silence."

Yet on this same basis would we have a credible argument for the lack of information in Acts concerning Paul's epistolary productions? We have the same "merciful silence" about this activity, yet there are few scholars who would consider this literature to be catastrophic. Clearly there is room for another solution.

It appears, rather, that a full description of the collection's delivery was not a vital part of the author's overall purpose. His emphasis had been on the prophetically-fulfilled arrest of the Apostle and his subsequent appeal to Rome. Such an emphasis provided one of the main links in the story of how the gospel journeyed from its Palestinian origin to the Imperial capital; cf. W. Franklin, 23.

It is instructive to notice the charge brought against Paul and his company as recorded in Acts 17:6-7. The charge amounted to a 'secularised' interpretation of the gospel message. This was certainly not because of a misunderstanding on the part of the opposition, but, similar to the very charge which was brought against Jesus (Jn. 19:12ff), the Jewish opponents sought to enlist Gentile support for their cause by charging the evangelists with treason against Rome.

Therefore, at this point, we only wish to suggest the possibility that since this particular charge apparently does not accurately reflect the actual grievances of the Jewish community against Paul, it is possible that the conversion of some Jews and God-fearing Greeks may have resulted in open hostility toward the Apostle, for, among other reasons, these converted individuals might not be inclined to continue their support of the Temple-tax. Such a result of Pauline preaching might have cast it, in the eyes of the Jewish community, in the role of open opposition to the teachings and maintenance of the Jerusalem Temple.¹⁹

¹⁹Beyond the speculative nature of our point here, we hesitate somewhat since 2 Cor. 8:1-5 apparently records Paul's surprise at Macedonian participation in the collection. This may reveal that he had not officially instituted the fund in that region, and of course, such a fact would preclude Jewish opposition to him on that issue. Yet, his surprise may also have been involved with the amount which the Macedonians had given. Paul may have believed a large contribution to have been beyond the capacity of those churches.

2) We notice in Acts 21:27 (the incident of Paul's arrest in Jerusalem), that certain Asian Jews had seen Paul in the company of Trophimus (a collection representative from Asia, Acts 20:4). Apparently they believed Paul to have violated the sanctity of the Temple by admitting Trophimus into areas which were restricted to Gentiles.

In their charges against him, they emphasize the fact that Paul's teachings, and his alleged action with regard to Trophimus, represented a conscious mission to defile the Temple (21:28). This charge is again echoed in the case of the prosecution against Paul, led by Tertullus, before Felix (24:6).

A further indication that Paul's actions with regard to the Temple were at issue is the fact that in his defense before Felix and Festus (24:18 and 25:8, respectively), he needed to include an explanation about his attitude toward the Temple.

There seems to be no question that the charges against Paul, concerning his violating the restrictions against Gentile admission to the Temple, were quite false. However, in spite of this, might it not be the case that this false charge gained credence in the minds of other Jews, not present at the supposed infraction, because they had also heard of his allegedly anti-Mosaic teachings (21:18-21), and, quite possibly, were aware that Paul's presence in the city was attributable to the delivery of the collection? This fund may have been interpreted to be a tangible expression of Paul's disdain for Temple worship.

e) Conclusion

Thus, while the evidence does not demand a view that direct Jewish opposition followed Paul's collection project, we do find suggestions that much Jewish furor had been aroused over the presumption that, through his ministry, the Apostle was attempting to teach Jews to reject Mosaic law and Judaic custom.

We find it possible that his collection, and the form in which he administered it, may have contributed to that presumption, and may have given cause for the type of opposition we have discussed in the foregoing pages.

The Situation in 2 Corinthians

Our understanding of the possibility of direct Jewish opposition to the collection project appears to be crucially relevant to a more accurate understanding of the role of that collection in Paul's relationship with the Corinthians. When we turn our attention specifically to the situation as reflected in the text of 2 Corinthians, we may be able to take a fresh look at some of the difficulties Paul encountered in that church by taking into consideration the fact that the issue of the Corinthian participation in the collection may have been at the centre of the apparent 'authority struggle' between Paul and the 'intruding apostles'.

1) The Opponents: Identification

There has been no lack of investigative studies which have attempted to determine the identification of the

opponents specifically in 2 Corinthians, or, more generally, as an oppositional front which may have engaged the Apostle in each church or community which he visited. Depending upon the supposed socio-religious orientation of this hypothetical 'front', some scholars have envisioned an anti-Pauline counter-movement in the Hellenistic territories, either for the purpose of monitoring and correcting Pauline diversions from more traditional Palestinian-Christianity, or for confronting and repulsing the Pauline threat to their established cultic structures.

Historically, suggestions as to the identification of the oppositional 'front' have oscillated between Jewish-Christians²⁰ or adherents of some form of primitive

²⁰ Cf. F. C. Baur "Die Christi Partei in der korinthischer Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des paulinischen und petrinischen Christentums in der ältesten Kirchen, der Apostel Petrus in Rom" Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie (1831) 61-206; J. B. Lightfoot "St. Paul and the Three" (Dissertation III) St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (2 ed.) London, Cambridge:1866 283-355 (although Lightfoot did not agree with Baur's extended thesis, he also proposed a Judaizing opposition against Paul throughout his ministry, but on two fronts: Palestinian Judaism and Gnostic Judaism); E. Käsemann Legitimität des Apostel Darmstadt: 1956; G. Friedrich "Die Gegner des Paulus in 2 Korintherbrief" Abraham Unser Vater, Juden und Christen im Gebrach über die Bibel hrsg. Betz, Hengel, Schmidt, Leiden:1963, 183-215; R. Jewett Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Conflict Settings Leiden: 1971; D. Georgi Die Gegner des Paulus in 2 Korintherbrief (WMANT) hrsg. Bornkamm, von Rad, (Band 11) Neukirchen-Vluyen:1964; D. Lührmann Das Offenbarungsverständnis Bei Paulus und in Paulinischen Gemeinden (WMANT) Band 16, Neukirchen-Vluyen:1965; M. Rissi Studien Zum Zweiten Korintherbrief: Der Alte Bund-Der Prediger-Der Tod Zurich:1969 (The studies of Georgi, Lührmann and Rissi effectively questioned what had become an automatic identification of Paul's terminology as occasioned by a Gnostic threat, either real or anticipated. Rather, they cleared the way for such terminology to be understood as

Gnosticism.²¹ These 'oscillations' appear to have been, too often, related to the prevalent 'school-of thought' regarding the cultural milieu most influential in the context of the early Christian movement.

At least with respect to 2 Corinthians, the weight of evidence seems to support the Jewish-Christian identification of Paul's opponents. This opposition appears to have been involved in some form of counter-mission, either as a corrective (so Barrett and Oostendorp) or as an effort to supplant Pauline teaching entirely (so Baur, Ellis and others). Our own observation of the possibility of Jewish (Christian?) opposition to Paul's administration of the collection might give further support to this identification.

effective against Hellenistic Judaism as well); D. W. Oostendorp Another Jesus: A Gospel of Jewish-Christian Superiority Kampen:1967; J. J. Gunther St. Paul's Opponents and Their Backgrounds Leiden:1973; E. E. Ellis "Paul and his Opponents: Trends in Research" Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults (pt. I: New Testament) Vol. 12, Judaism in Late Antiquity: ed. J. Neusner, Leiden:1975; B. Holmberg Paul and Power, 1978; M. E. Thrall "Super Apostles, Servants of Christ, Servants of Satan" JSNT 6(1980) 42-57 (Barrett, Ellis, Holmberg and Thrall have had the effect of closely alligning the Judaizing 'front' with the consent and authority of the Jerusalem church); C. K. Barrett The Second Epistle to the Corinthians (Black's N.T. Commentaries) London:1973.

²¹Cf. W. Lütgert "Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth" BfChTh 12,3 (1908) (Lütgert understood the Gnosticism in Corinth to have originated in Judaism); R. Bultmann "Kritik an Käsemann" Exegetische Probleme des Zweiten Korintherbrief Darmstadt:1963; W. Schmithals Gnosticism in Corinth (tr. J. Steely) Nashville, New York:1972; E. Güttgemanns Der leidende Apostel und Sein Herr: Studien zur paulinischen Christologie Göttingen:1966.

2) The Opponents: Authorized by Jerusalem?

This much debated topic has recently resurfaced in an article by M. E. Thrall.²² The issue centres on the basis of the authority of Paul's opponents and whether that authority could be understood to have originated with the Jerusalem church leadership.

A solution to the difficulties must satisfy the almost paradoxical nature of Paul's references to his opponents in 2 Cor. 10-13. The description of certain men as *ὑπερβάντες ἀποστόλων* (11:5; 12:11) seems to be irreconcilable, if it also refers to the opponents of Paul whom he describes as *ψευδαπόστολοι, ἐργάζονται δόλιον, μετασχηματιζόμενοι εἰς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ* (11:13).

Thrall's reconciliation of these Pauline 'descriptions' focuses on the role of Titus in the Corinthian crisis.²³ Titus is alleged to have been unable to fully identify the intruders in Corinth. This rendered him unable to precisely inform Paul as to the nature of the authority claimed by the opponents.²⁴ Thus, because Paul could not be sure

²² Thrall, JSNT 6 (1980) 42-57.

²³ Barrett, Second Corinthians, 9; also "Titus" Neotestamentica et Semitica ed. Ellis, Wilcox, Edinburgh:1969, 1-14. Barrett considers Titus to have misinformed Paul about the severity of the opposition in Corinth. Paul wrote chaps. 1-9 on the false assumption that reconciliation had taken place, only to learn of a new outbreak of rebellion. Thus, Paul had to revive his polemical attack against them in chaps. 10-13. These chapters constitute, for Barrett, a fifth letter in the correspondence.

²⁴ Thrall, 48-49.

that certain members of the Jerusalem church were not involved in the intruding group (either directly present in Corinth or indirectly lending their support to the anti-Pauline movement), he was cautious in his own personal attacks against these men.²⁵

Thrall attempts to explain the Pauline descriptions of his opponents as being consistent with his uncertainty as to their ties with Jerusalem²⁶, while they also reveal the Apostle's own doubt that such divisiveness, as that which the opponents cultivated, could possibly originate anywhere but with Satan and his servants.²⁷ The improbability of describing the opponents as both, servants of Christ and servants of Satan, is explained by Thrall as reminiscent of Peter's dual role in the confession of Jesus as Lord (Mt. 16:23; Mk. 8:33; cf. Lk. 22:31-32).²⁸ Thus, Thrall understands the opposing group to have regarded Peter as their leader and the ground of their authority.²⁹ Further, Thrall claims that the themes which Paul addressed in his defense, correspond to various strengths of Peter's apostleship (signs, visions, discipline) which Paul's opponents denied were evident in Paul's own expression of apostleship.³⁰

²⁵Ibid., 49.

²⁶Ibid., 42-44: Paul only claims equality with them, not superiority.

²⁷Ibid., 50.

²⁸Ibid., 52.

²⁹Ibid., 55.

³⁰Ibid., 53.

As for the merits of her study, Thrall presents some interesting material in support of the view that Paul faced but one group of opponents in chaps. 10-13,³¹ and that the opponents may have claimed some connection to the Jerusalem church. However, she falls short of declaring that, indeed, these men were actually commissioned by that church. In her conclusion³², she concedes that their connection with Jerusalem may have amounted only to a claim on their part, which Paul may have found to be false.

Precisely because of this uncertainty as to the reality of the opponent's authority, we believe that Thrall may have unnecessarily overemphasized the 'Peter-connection'. It is in Thrall's admission that the opponents may have falsely claimed Jerusalem support for their mission, that the evidence she presents cannot be understood to demand her solution. For, if we are willing to accept the belief that the opponents have falsified the actual ground of their authority, we are no longer under any constraint to recognize any reality in the other claims which they apparently had made. Paul's reference to them as *ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων* (11:5, 12:11) and the list of the elements against which he must compare his

³¹contra Barrett "Paul's Opponents in II Corinthians" *NTS* 17/3 (1971) 237: who is unable to reconcile the Pauline descriptions of the intruders in a similar way as has Thrall.

³²Thrall, 56.

ministry ('Εβραῖοι' 'Ισραηλιῖται' σπέρμα' 'Αβραάμ δι δκοναι

Χριστοῦ , 11:22), need only be understood as similar self-designations of the opponents, the truth of which, is not at all addressed by the Apostle as he makes reference to them. We might also be able to say that these 'self-designations' may be related to the Corinthians' own interpretation of the identity and value of the opponent's ministry. It is important to understand that the true 'opponents' of Paul in 2 Corinthians are the misguided church members themselves whose enthusiasm for heterodox expressions of Christian spirituality had been a constant source of friction between the church and their apostle. Indeed, the criticisms against Paul, which he reflects in his defense, are such that any pneumatic, worthy of that name, would probably have been determined to have been an *ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλος* in comparison to the 'weak' Paul.

Finally, we reject Thrall's argument that the devastating criticism of Paul against his opponents in 11:13-15 reflects a momentary lapse in his cautious attitude.³³ Rather, we understand this attack to reveal Paul's belief that he is not at all being opposed by legitimate representatives of any branch of the Church.

³³Thrall, 50: She understands Paul's anger to be raised against the opponents because of their violation of the divinely-allotted territory of Paul's ministry (cf. Gal. 2:9). Yet Thrall herself, admits that the agreement may have been understood differently by the two parties. Thus, while Paul may have felt the agreement covered territories, the Petrine branch may have believed it referred to ethnic distinctions, in which case, Paul, too, would have violated the agreement.

We have addressed ourselves somewhat extensively to Thrall's article in order to make the following points for our study:

- a) We agree with Thrall that chaps. 10-13 reflect but one group of intruding opponents. We believe, however, that Paul's arguments were directed toward the Corinthians and their interpretation of the ministry of the intruders.
- b) We reject the necessity of identifying the expression *ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων* as a designation of the Jerusalem apostles. Paul may have only been reflecting a self-designation of the opponents, or, more likely, it was a description of these intruders which had been 'coined' by the Corinthian church in their evaluation of the intruder's ministry over against that of Paul.³⁴

³⁴ Of major importance to Thrall's argument is the fact that rather than claiming superiority over these intruders, Paul is thought to have only been able to declare his equality with them (Thrall, 42).

However, Thrall clearly reveals that she follows Bultmann and his criticism of Käsemann's view in identifying the *ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων* of 11:5 not only with the Jerusalem leadership, but also with the intruders, as well (Thrall, 44; cf. R. Bultmann, 28). Further, she declares that 11:22 (in fact the entire section vv. 18-23) refers to these same intruders.

Given these identifications, she has apparently failed to recognize in v. 23ff the fact that, far from declaring only equality with these opponents, Paul clearly expresses his case for the superiority of his apostleship (at least with regard to being described as a *διδκονος Χριστου*). Beyond this particular point, however, is the fallacy of her argument on the basis of this supposed equality. For even while he argued for his superiority, Paul declared that such a course is nothing but 'foolishness'. This view is confirmed by Paul's own modification of the supposed declaration of equality in 12:11: *οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑστερήσα τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων εἰ καὶ οὐδὲν εἶμι*. By this we understand that Paul refused

We reject Thrall's interpretation that Paul's reference to the claims of these opponents (or the claims the Corinthians made for them) implies a Pauline judgement as to the truthfulness of those claims.³⁵

Thus, we believe there to be little, if any, basis in 2 Corinthians, to support the theory of Jerusalem 'interference' in Paul's ministry there. The Apostle's use of charges or claims, made by the opposition, in the course of his counter-arguments is a characteristic element of Pauline style, especially prevalent in his Corinthian correspondence.

d) Finally, we are cautious in following the 'trend' and referring to the opponents of Paul in Corinth as decidedly Jewish-Christians. While the evidence of 11:22 strongly suggests that the intruders are indeed Jewish, such is not the case with their claims to be servants of Christ.³⁶ At the very least we might be able to say that

the validity of his opponents' boasting as a legitimate ground for authority. This refusal is consistent with his self-understanding of his own position as an apostle and the valuelessness of engaging in a form of apostolic 'one-upmanship'.

³⁵contra Thrall's view of 11:5, (42); and her view on 11:22, p. 51.

³⁶This, of course is one of the burdens of Thrall's article. She attempts to show, through the illustration of the early spiritual development of Peter, that one who is a *διδάκωνος Χριστοῦ* could also, at times, be described as a servant of Satan. Yet once we remove the necessity of understanding Paul's use of the opponent's claims as implicit recognition of their truthfulness, similarly, we can remove the main presupposition upon which Thrall argues her case for the interpretation of 11:22. For she argues that their claim to be *διδάκοντες* *Χριστοῦ* is grammatically linked to their claims

Paul believed their ministry to be inconsistent with such a title. Certainly, there is room to allow that Paul may have doubted this solely because of the conflict of opinion as to how a true Christian minister should operate. Yet there is still the need to consider that the opponent's claim to be Christian might have been as bogus as was their title *διδάκονοι Χριστοῦ* .

The view of K. Nickle on this point is noteworthy.³⁷ He recalls the Gal. 2:4 account concerning false brethren who were 'secretly brought in' (*τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδελφούς*). It is his opinion that Paul's use of *ψευδαδελφούς* there, and in 2 Cor. 11:26, referred not to heretical Christians, but to "men who claimed to be Christian but were not".³⁸

to be *Ἑβραῖον Ἰσραηλῆν ὑπέρματ' Ἀβραάμ* .
 Believing Paul to be recognizing the truthfulness of the last three of these claims, she declares that he is likewise forced to recognize the truthfulness of the assertion that they are *διδάκονοι Χριστοῦ* .

Under our view, however, Paul only reflects the claims of these opponents without placing any judgement upon them. Obviously he does this only for comparison. While it may be unfortunate, it is nevertheless true, that Paul neither explicitly refutes nor confirms these claims.

Thrall's argument fails to take into consideration the fact that the four elements, which she believes are grammatically linked, are not strictly comparable. While a man's ethnic background may be verifiable as a matter of public record, dress or custom, this is not the case with one's claim to be a *διδάκονος Χριστοῦ* . Paul does not pause to deny the truthfulness of his opponent's genealogies. However, with his scathing denouncement of their ministry in 11:13-15, he certainly has given his explicit opinion that their actions in no way confirm at least one of their claims, that of being some of Christ's servants.

Ultimately this is as far as we can go in ascertaining Paul's opinion of the intruders' claims. He apparently was satisfied with their ethnic claims, but was not at all ready to recognize their own view of their ministry.

³⁷K. Nickle, 46-47.

³⁸Ibid., 47.

In 11:13, then, the designation *ψευδαπόστολοι* , at the very least is a Pauline denial of the opponents' claim to be apostles.³⁹ We cannot say with certainty if Paul meant to negate any more than their claim to that office. However, Paul's description of the work of such men and their affiliation with Satan certainly casts some doubt on the truthfulness of their Christianity.⁴⁰

The infiltration of false brethren into the Christian community, evidenced from Gal. 2:4 to have occurred at Jerusalem, may not have been an isolated incident. From the evidence we have discussed concerning Jewish opposition to Paul, we may have to rethink the theological/ecclesiastical affiliation of Paul's opponents both in Galatia, and at Corinth. His opponents may have been ethnic and religious Jews who masqueraded as Christian apostles in an attempt to impede the gospel, especially as transmitted by Paul. At least, we believe, there is enough evidence to cause some doubt to occur in the almost automatic description of these opponents as being Jewish-Christians.

e) Conclusion- We notice that there really is precious little we can say concretely about the identification of Paul's opponents in Corinth. For each characteristic we believe can be established, we find ourselves with a number of modifiers which work against any generalizations. Thus,

³⁹Thrall, 50: She makes mention of this but does not expand upon it.

⁴⁰On the other hand, we may only be dealing with a classic Pauline over-exaggeration here as well.

this issue continues as a controversy in New Testament critical research. However, of the few elements about which we can be certain, possibly we are able to make a comparison of Paul's opponents in other settings and at least cast our support on the side of those scholars who understand that a somewhat unified 'front' of opposition confronted Paul along the way.

We are specifically intrigued by the similarities between our view of the opponents in Corinth and the traditional concept of Paul's opposition in Galatia ('the so-called Judaizers'). For even within Paul's counter-arguments in Galatians, one would be hard-pressed to find Paul attributing the term 'Christian' to those who have troubled the church(es). It is not our intention here to present a point-for point comparison of the opponents' characteristics in Galatia and Corinth (though such an exercise is valuable and revealing in itself). Rather, we need only pause to notice that, consistent with our view that Paul may have received direct Jewish opposition (possibly from a 'mixed bag' of Jewish-Christians and non-believing Jews) we seem to be able to conclude that, at least, in Galatia and Corinth, there was an impressive amount of similarity in the possible identity of the opponents and, possibly, a common issue which may have been at stake in each church: the collection.

Judaizers and the Collection in Galatia and Corinth

In regard to the similarities of opponents and issues within these two churches, we are interested to notice

the almost 'overlapping' character of the recent studies by D. W. Oostendorp and L. Hurtado.⁴¹

Oostendorp was concerned to show that the message preached by the 'intruders' in Corinth was one which paralleled that of the Judaizing group, normally held to be the disruptive element in the Galatian church situation. Thus he would be of the opinion that the Corinthian and Galatian difficulties faced by Paul were closely related.⁴²

Hurtado, as we have observed, finds reason to understand that within the Galatian controversy there existed questions concerning the Pauline administration of the collection and its implications as to the truthfulness of his claim to independent authority.

Therefore, in Galatia and in Corinth, which two churches may have been infected with the same Judaizing controversy, it is interesting to note that questions over the legitimacy of Paul's apostolic status, and questions regarding the issue of the collection, may have been mutual

⁴¹Cf. D. W. Oostendorp, Another Jesus, and L. Hurtado, "The Jerusalem Collection and the Book of Galatians".

⁴²Oostendorp's thesis was based on what he believed to be the most revealing evidence of the opponents' message: 2 Cor. 11:4. Taking his cue from Paul's claim that these intruders preached 'another Jesus', Oostendorp understands their message to be one which proclaimed a renewed Israel through the atonement of Christ, whose blessings were available to all men through the initiatory mediation of the Mosaic Law.

Their main criticisms against Paul's actions in Corinth, however, involved his failure to properly institute that Law over the Corinthian Gentiles. They also believed him to be reluctant to discipline those within the church who continued in sin.

concerns. With our own contributing arguments as to the possibility of direct Jewish opposition to the collection project, and the nature of the opposition which Paul faced specifically in Corinth, we may be in a position to understand more clearly the relationship between the offering for Jerusalem and the maintenance of Pauline apostolic authority.

It seems readily apparent, then, that participation in the collection implied nothing less than an implicit recognition of the legitimacy of Paul's apostolic status, and a submission to his apostolic authority. It may have been this conception of the collection, as a submission to Paul's authority, which caused the Corinthians some difficulty and which may have caused the intruders to confront him specifically on the superiority of their apostolic status.

Chapter 4

"Corinthian Objections to the Collection:
Paul's Financial Relationships With His Churches"

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In an earlier section of our study, we suggested that the Corinthian church situation had been quite volatile and unstable even prior to the appearance of the intruding 'false-apostles', who are explicitly mentioned in 2 Cor. 10-13. The church's intentional misunderstanding of the 'initial letter' (1 Cor. 5:9ff), the independent tone of the Corinthian letter to Paul (reflected in Paul's response to Corinthian 'slogans'), the tendencies toward libertinism, and the outright abuse of, and rebellion against, their founding apostle, depicts a church which was well capable of voicing their own objections to the Pauline apostleship.

We err greatly if we consider the Corinthian church members to be innocent bystanders in the question of Paul's apostolic legitimacy. Rather, we understand the Corinthians to have had their own objections to the Pauline apostleship which also involved their displeasure with his administration of the collection project. These objections originated quite independently of the objections held by the intruding opponents. Possibly it was the mutual disdain for the Pauline collection which first attracted the Corinthians and the intruders to stand together against the legitimacy of Paul's apostleship.

It is our belief that the Corinthians' main difficulties with Paul did not actually involve the question of legitimacy. . However, because they may have shared a common suspicion concerning the motivations of Paul in administering the collection, it seems possible that they were drawn in to the position of the intruders. In other words, these intruders may have been able to channel the Corinthian dissatisfaction in such a direction that they were able to exploit it as support for their own views.

The Corinthian objections to the fund, however, were on a far different level than those we have suggested for the intruders. We believe the Corinthians were convinced of Paul's financial impropriety in his dealings with them, and thus, they likewise suspected impropriety in his administration of the collection. It will be our task, in this section of the study, to analyse Paul's financial relationship with his churches generally, and the church at Corinth specifically, in order to provide a framework for understanding the unique Corinthian objections to the collection.

Paul's Financial Relationships With His Churches

1) Introduction

Our analysis of Paul's financial relationship with the churches which he had founded, will begin with an analysis of the most comprehensive treatment of the issue in the Pauline corpus: 1 Corinthians 9. For it is within this chapter that Paul provides a principle for his refusal to

accept Corinthian support which, at least on the surface, appears to be applicable for his conduct with each church in which he ministers.

2) The Context

There have been a few commentators who have suggested (some more strongly than others) that chap. 9 is actually an editorialized intrusion into the context of 1 Cor. 8 and 10.¹ However, while chapter 9 does retain an independent flavour, in that it does not directly deal with the issue of meat offered to idols, the chapter does follow the discussion of chapter 8 as an elaboration of the restraint Paul placed upon himself, and his freedom, in 8:13. For in the chapter, Paul develops the concept of the connection between Christian freedom and the proper use of behavioural restraint for the sake of the community. Thus, the chapter provides an applicable example of this type of restraint as it is viewed from Paul's perspective. For these reasons, and others, the majority of commentators are content to hold to the present order of the chapters as accurately reflecting the original Pauline composition.²

¹Among them: J. Weiss Paulus 231f; W. Schmithals Paul and the Gnostics, 81-93; J. Héring The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians London:1967, 10f.

²Cf. esp. J. Jeremias "Chiasmus in den Paulusbriefen" ZNTW 49 (1958) 156; Lietzmann An Die Korinther I-II Tübingen:1923, 39; C. K. Barrett "Things Sacrificed to Idols" NTS 11 (1964-65) 138-153; G. Dautzenberg "Der Verzicht auf das Apostolische Unterhaltsrecht" Biblica 50 (1969) 213.

We wish to emphasize the place of the chapter, and the relationship of its contents, to the context of the idol-meat controversy. Too often scholars have overlooked the importance of this contextual relationship and have interpreted chap. 9 in a vacuum. Such an approach can be disastrous to a proper understanding of the force and direction of Paul's comments in the chapter. We will endeavour to provide an interpretation of the chapter which adequately deals with the function of Paul's words in their context.

3) Apostolic Rights

Consistent with our consideration of the role of the context in our understanding of chap. 9, we wish to briefly note the initial arguments and concerns of Paul as he presented them.

The Apostle began with a series of rhetorical questions which were designed, as D. Dungan rightly observes, ". . . to place him in the position of the 'strong' of the chapter 8 argument".³

Without a doubt the rhetorical questions each expected an affirmative answer. They built upon one another as support for the question which preceded them (Paul is free; he is an apostle; he had seen Christ, they are his work in the Lord). Thus, we receive, in an inverted expansion, the

³D.Dungan The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul: The Use of synoptic Tradition in the Regulations of Early Church Life. Philadelphia: 1971, 5.

Pauline argument for his assertion of 'freedom'. It is this concept of 'freedom' which is the fundamental characteristic of his nature which Paul wishes to establish. We find no reason to believe that the Corinthians had expressed doubts as to the validity of Paul's vision of Christ⁴, nor the legitimacy of his apostolic office⁵, at that point of the correspondence.

Actually, it is not until the fourth question of the series that the Corinthians had an element which they could objectively confirm or deny: οὐ τὸ ἔργον μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἀν·κυριζ; However, rather than leaving the question open to debate, Paul added a parenthetical statement to insure their proper answer: εἰ ἄλλοις οὐκ εἰμὶ ἁπόστολος ἀλλά ἔγε δμῖν εἰμὶ ἡ γὰρ σφραγίς μου τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε (v. 2). He left no room for doubt in this matter since,

⁴Our view is somewhat at variance with that of F. J. Badcock ("St. Paul's Apostolic Commission" Th 8 (1924) 86ff.) who believes that Paul, here, was speaking of his conversion vision (Acts 9) which the Corinthians did not deny. However, Badcock understood that a question had been raised concerning Paul's 'Temple vision' (Acts 22:17ff). The denial of this vision was expedient for those among the Corinthians who desired to be free from Paul's authority since it was in that vision that Paul is recorded as having received the commission to go to the Gentiles.

Yet, the way in which Paul linked the rhetorical questions together, it is quite difficult to believe that any one of the assertions made within them were a major point of controversy.

⁵Cf. W. Schmithals Office of the Apostle in the Early Church, 3 note 6; Barrett First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 200; J. Moffatt The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, London; 1978, 114; J. C. Hurd The Origin of 1 Corinthians London; SPCK, 1965, 125ff; F. F. Bruce 1 and 2 Corinthians 83; H. Lietzmann An die Korinther 1-11, 39.

for the church to deny his assertion of apostleship, they would likewise have had to deny their own existence as a church established 'in Christ'.⁶

Paul's argumentative skill had forced the Corinthians to affirm Paul's series of questions (assertions) upon the basis of their own existence as a church. Thus, they are likewise required to affirm Paul's assertion of his own freedom (as he had defined it).

Therefore, with the conclusion of this initial series of rhetorical questions, Paul had accomplished his task of defending his assertion of 'freedom' before those who had doubted such an assertion based upon his self-restraint in 8:13.⁷

4) Establishing His Claim to Apostolic Rights

Paul, using a new series of rhetorical questions, presents a comparison between certain church dignitaries (other apostles)⁸

⁶H. Mosbech ("Apostolos in the New Testament" ST 1 (1950) 170) states that the evidence that one had founded a congregation was a prerequisite for anyone's claim of the title of 'Apostle'; cf. J. H. Schütz (Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority, 103, and J. A. Kirk "Apostleship Since Rengstorf" NTS 21 (1/75) 261) who makes the stronger claim, that Paul's referral to the fruits of his apostolic labour are his attempt to prove his apostleship.

⁷For the debate over the referent of *ἀπὸν*, see C. Hodge An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 154; W. Schmithals Gnosis in Korinth (vol. I), 383, who understood the sentence to be a summation of the previous arguments; contra, F. W. Grosheide Commentary on the First Epistle to Corinth, 210; H. Conzelmann A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 152 n. 13; Barrett, 202.

⁸There is no suggestion here, or in other Pauline references to 'apostles' (cf. Ro. 16:7) that Paul restricted this term to the Twelve only.

brothers of the Lord⁹, Cephas¹⁰) whose practice was to accept church support, over against himself and Barnabas, who had refused such support.¹¹

The very fact that Paul and Barnabas engaged in manual labour apparently cast doubt upon their assertions as

⁹Dungan goes beyond the evidence when he claims that "the brothers of the Lord" refers to the same group of 'Judaizers' who had troubled Paul in Antioch and Galatia (and later in 2 Cor. 10-13); (Dungan, 7). Dungan provides no insights for us in determining how Paul could have used these Judaizers as support for his own apostolic standing here, while he is later able to refer to them as "false-apostles" in 2 Cor. 11:13. There is no evidence of a Judaizing influence within the problems to which Paul refers in 1 Corinthians.

Barrett provides the more natural answer in assuming that Paul, in the midst of what he admits is an *ἀπολογία*, "had no reason to mention the brothers here if the fact alleged were not secure and possibly known to his readers, though the brothers may have confined their journeys to Palestine" (Barrett, 203).

While Barrett's interpretation does not preclude Dungan's view that these same 'brothers' may have actively disapproved of Paul's activities, it does capture the sense that Paul is using them for comparative purposes only and in no way hints at his own judgment of their behaviour.

¹⁰W. Schmithals finds great significance in the fact that Cephas' name is listed separately from 'the apostles' here, and in 1 Cor. 15:5. He concludes that Cephas was not determined to be one of the 'Twelve' by Paul, because the institution of the 'Twelve' is unhistorical (Office of Apostle, 82).

We find no reason to follow this line. We need only observe that Paul was capitalizing on the apparent popularity which Cephas enjoyed among some members of the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 1:12). Barrett may be correct in understanding an actual visit to Corinth on the part of Cephas as the background to the founding of a 'party' under his name ("Cephas and Corinth" Abraham Unser Vater, Festschrift für Otto Michel Leiden: 1963, 1-12).

¹¹It is impossible to determine if Paul singles out himself and Barnabas as the only two individuals in the early church who refused to accept support, or if they were the only ones known by the Corinthians to have followed that practice.

to their apostolic status. It was as if they refrained from accepting support reserved for apostles of Christ because they had some reservation as to their right to receive that support¹² (this factor later developed into a major point for the opposition when Paul's apostleship was openly questioned, 2 Cor. 11:7).

Therefore, it seems correct to assume that Paul's insistence on self-support, and the self-prohibitions he placed upon himself, ultimately gave rise to doubts among the Corinthian church members as to the truth of his apostleship, and more importantly, in this context, doubts arose concerning the truth of his assertion of 'freedom'.

The remainder of the chapter contains Paul's arguments concerning not only his right to expect support from the

¹²Dautzenberg (215) believes that it was Paul's action of refusing Corinthian support which set him apart from the 'other apostles' and itinerant teachers of the day. Such a practice, although intended to demonstrate Paul's freedom as a servant, actually had a negative effect on the Corinthians' evaluation of Paul's ministry. Conzelmann (154) and Dungan (9) have similar views in this regard.

Barrett, (First Corinthians, 204) however, does not believe such a misinterpretation of Paul's practice, as suggested by Dautzenberg, was a widespread phenomenon. Although he does understand that some members of the church eventually challenged Paul's apostleship on the basis of this odd practice, he thinks that this challenge would have occurred much later than the time perspective reflected in 1 Cor. 9.

For our part, we find that speculation as to the relative time within the Paul/Corinth relationship that a certain issue rose to a level of controversy is a very precarious exercise indeed. What we will say, however, is that the Corinthians seem to have wasted little time in making a connection between Paul's practices and the legitimacy of his office. As Paul wrote the letter it may not have been a major problem, but certainly by the time the intruders arrived, it had developed into a cause for hostility.

church, but also his freedom to restrict that right, if he believed a greater benefit would be served through that non-acceptance.

The Apostle argues for his basic right to receive support using what Dungan calls, testimonies of "derekh eretz" (the way of the world)¹³ or, as we might say, common sense. The illustrations deal with images which would have been familiar to the members of the church, and which concern fundamental benefits associated with particular vocations: soldier-rations; vineyard planter-wine; shepherd-milk. Yet, as Barrett points out, while these arguments are useful in their own right, they are not compelling, and Paul did not rest on them alone.¹⁴

The final two illustrations of the series highlight the agricultural images which he had used with the Corinthians previously.¹⁵ They anticipate the important question of v. 11: *αὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἐσπεύραμεν μέγα εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικὰ θερμίσμεν*.

If the Corinthian readers followed his argument correctly, they were forced to respond to a series of simple 'yes-no' questions. These questions brought them from a point of questioning his freedom to a point of affirming his undeniable right¹⁶ to be supported by

¹³Dungan, 9.

¹⁴Barrett, First Corinthians, 205.

¹⁵Cf. 1 Cor. 3:6. These illustrations would have had the effect of bringing his own ministry into sharper focus with such vocations.

¹⁶Apparently this practice of accepting support appeared quite early in the church. Yet at least one Jewish

their church. He emphasizes that he, above all those who have such rights, is uniquely worthy of receiving his rights from them, since he was the one who had, in effect, planted them, and he is the one who expects to gain a harvest. This fact he asserts in v. 12a, which had the effect of returning the Corinthians' thoughts to his assertion of freedom in v. 2.

5) Pauline Self-Restraint

In v. 12b, Paul announced what the Corinthians already knew to be his practice. He did not take advantage (ἐχρησάμεθα) of what he considered to be his right to support, but endures (στεγόμεν) without the support for the higher purpose of refusing to place an obstacle (ἐγκοπὴν) in the way of the Gospel. It seems clear that Paul, in some way, had decided that accepting funds from Corinth would hinder the advancement of the Gospel.¹⁷

tradition, that of Hillel, spoke against the practice of making a profit from the teaching of religion: Pirke Aboth 1:13, "He used to say: - whoso makes great his name loses his name, and whoso adds not makes to cease, and he who does not learn deserves killing, and one who serves himself with the Crown (Torah) passes away", translated by R. T. Herford The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers, 33; cf. J. A. Hertz Sayings of the Fathers, 21, who questions the translation of Crown (כִּרְתָּן) as 'Torah'.

E. Urbach states that there was no dogmatic Jewish attitude toward such support. In time, the practice was widely adopted; (E. Urbach "Class Status and Leadership in the World of the Palestinian Sages" Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities II 4 (1965) 1-37.

¹⁷ There have been many suggestions as to just what the concept of the ἐγκοπὴν involved: J. Weiss Paulus, (238) believed that Paul did not want to be a financial burden on the poor; recently Dungan (15) and W. Prättscher ("Der

It is sufficient at this point in the discussion to mention that there were probably many reasons why Paul refused to exercise his right to accept Corinthian support. Yet, in the next line of argumentation in the chapter, that dealing with an express command of the Lord, we need to understand if there may have been a more compelling reason for Paul to abstain from the support than those which have usually been suggested. For the fact of the matter remains, that if Paul's refusal of support is based solely on the situational aspects of the Corinthian scene, we must re-examine what Paul's attitude actually was toward what he understood to be the Lord's command.

6) The Command of the Lord

Paul had moved his argument to what he felt was the final establishment of the right, namely, a command from Jesus that those who preached the Gospel should receive their living from that occupation.

It is this command of Jesus which had been the object of much debate concerning Paul's attitudes toward Christ's directives. Only rarely did the Apostle refer to a command

Verzicht des Paulus auf Finanziellen Unterhalt durch Sein Gemeinde" Ein Aspekt seiner Missionsweise" NTS 25, 3 (4/79) 284-298) also considered this to be a major reason for Pauline refusal.

This was rejected by H. D. Betz (Der Apostel Paulus und Die sokratische Tradition, 103). He believes the Corinthians to have been well able to support Paul. He speculates, however, that Paul may have determined that Corinthian support would have been inadequate for his company. Betz believes the Corinthians would have treated Paul as an "untergeordneter Missionar" until they were firmly convinced of his apostleship.

Dautzenberg (219) believes the concept to involve what he calls Paul's *σκάνδαλον* -Theologie; cf. Barrett, 207.

that specifically comes from the Lord. We need not infer from this that Paul was unconcerned with delivering the instructions of Jesus to his churches. In fact, the case may well have been that much of his teaching consisted in the transmission of instructional formulas which were infused with the very words and instructions of Jesus.¹⁸

Thus, we might rather consider that the Apostle adapted much of his teaching material from the early 'Jesus tradition' to the specific needs of each congregational setting with an attempt to remain as consistent as possible with the tradition itself.¹⁹

The less than decisive presentation of this command in v. 14 is of interest.²⁰ For Paul not only introduced this command in a 'matter of fact' style,²¹ he also summarized

¹⁸We have a hint of these formulas in this epistle at 11:23 and 15:3ff. On Paul's use of tradition see, Schütz, 45ff; P. Winter "I Corinthians XV 3b-7" Nov. T. (4/57) 142-150; H. Conzelmann "On the Analysis of the Confessional Formula in I. Cor. 15:3-5" Interp 20 (1/66) 15-25.

¹⁹Barrett (112) believes 1 Cor. 4:10ff reflects the teaching of Jesus from the 'Sermon on the Mount', yet Paul gave no indication that he was using that tradition.

²⁰R. Bultmann (Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynischstoische Diatribe (1910), 103) notices how off-handedly Paul introduces this command. He understands Paul's use of the directive as a 'rounding-off' of his argument; cf. Barrett, 208; contra Gerhardsson (Memory and Manuscript (1961), 317) who believed this was Paul's climax of his argument while the other illustrations were superfluous.

²¹J. Weiss, 239; Gerhardsson, 318; and Dungan, 80 believe the Corinthians were already very familiar with the command.

and interpreted the words of Jesus, rather than quoting them directly (or paraphrasing).²²

Apparently, then, Paul could feel free to employ a command of the Lord to establish his right to be supported, and yet, in the next 'breath', he reminds the church that he had not applied the command to himself, seemingly without contradiction! Is it the case that on his own authority Paul believed he could countermand a command from Jesus? Certainly there is a question as to just what was Paul's understanding of the obligatory nature of that command.

a) Obligation or Privilege?

Dungan shows the correct order of priorities, when he understands the necessity of determining the function of the command in the immediate context, before attempting to determine Paul's overall attitude toward Jesus' directives. Thus, he understands Paul, in renouncing an uncontested right, as having set a good example for the 'strong' in Corinth in their attitude toward idol-meat.²³

We might also echo Dungan's surprise at finding very few commentators who have produced a responsible treatment of this command in the context.²⁴ We have found only Grosheide's treatment²⁵ to focus on the Pauline adjustment,

²²Barrett, 208, believes this attitude reveals that Paul did not receive the teaching of Jesus as a 'new halakah'; contra Dungan, 21 and Gerhardsson, 318.

²³Dungan, 21.

²⁴Ibid., 20.

²⁵Grosheide, 211.

of a command ("obligation", so Dungan)²⁶, to become an option ("privilege", so Holmberg).²⁷ We will need to keep this important distinction in mind as we assess Paul's treatment of this command.

b) The Gospel Accounts

1-Paul's Acquaintance With the Command

In his brief article, A. W. Argyle attempted to present what he thought were five examples of parallelism between the Pauline corpus material and the account of the "Mission of the Seventy" in Luke 10.²⁸

Dungan, more recently, has argued in a similar way, that Paul was acquainted with, at least, this one command of Jesus in much the same form as it was later recorded in the Synoptics.²⁹ He also notices the relationship between the images of 'food' and 'workmen' in both the Matthean and Lukan accounts (Mt. 10:10; Lk. 10:7,8). He asserts that Paul's own use of the workman imagery in 1 Cor. 9 is more than merely coincidental.³⁰

²⁶Dungan, 20, n.3.

²⁷B. Holmberg Paul and Power, 90.

²⁸A. W. Argyle "Paul and the Mission of the Seventy" JTS 1 (N.S.) 1950, 63. The five parallels are: Lk. 10:8=1 Cor. 10:27; Lk. 10:7 (Mt. 10:9-11)=1 Cor. 9:14; Lk. 10:16 (Mt. 10:40)=1 Thess. 4:8; Lk. 10:3=Acts 20:29; Lk. 10:21,22 (Mt. 11:25-27)=1 Cor. 1:18-29. Argyle states that the parallels do not suggest, on either the part of Paul, nor the Gospel writer, a dependency upon one another. Rather, they indicated, "Paul's acquaintance with the oral tradition which eventually became incorporated in Q".

²⁹Dungan, 78ff; he understands Mt. 10 to provide a more original form of the saying while Lk. 10 has evidence of reworking.

³⁰Ibid., 47, n.2.

2-Jesus' Missionary Instructions to His Disciples.

The instructions given by the Lord to the disciples (twelve-Mt. 10:5-16; Lk. 9:1-6; seventy(two)-Lk. 10:1-12) must be understood as instructions for a specific area and mission.

Luke's account of the mission of the seventy(two) is no less limited than is the Mt. 10 account of the mission of the twelve. While in Matthew, the mission is specifically restricted to the region of Israel (*πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τῆ ἀπολωλῆτος οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ*, 10:6), the Lk. 10 account records a similar limitation to its mission as Jesus sends them out into . . . *πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ τόπον οὗ ἡμελλεν αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι* .

Though some may understand Lk. 10 as prefiguring a Gentile mission³¹ this is an interpretation which can only be supported by inference and is one not specifically stated by Jesus nor the Gospel writer. On the contrary, the fact that Jesus qualified the location of their mission with the understanding that he would personally (the strength of *αὐτὸς*) visit the same places, speaks for the fact that Luke is referring to a specific preparatory mission by these disciples, and not a symbolic universal mission.

³¹Cf. Dungan, 43, 71; B. M. Metzger "70 or 72?" NTS 4 (1959) 299-306, et al.

The intent of the instructions was to force the disciples to rely upon the hospitality of the townspeople³² who were being visited by the very proclamation of the Kingdom of God and who would be judged by their reception or rejection of those who brought that proclamation (Mt. 10:15; Lk. 10:12ff). In the context of a restricted mission to Israel, the hospitality of the people would be expected.³³

Relevant to these considerations is the incident recorded in Lk. 22:35-38, where Jesus appears to have made a distinction between past and present conditions of such evangelistic endeavours. If the passage is accepted as historically accurate, it would seem that Christ instructed his disciples to expect a far different state of affairs as they widened their ministry. Of course the historicity of the passage has been challenged as a Lukan redaction which attempted to provide a more explicit justification for the Gentile mission.³⁴ Yet, we believe it ill-advised to reject the passage out-of-hand solely on the basis that it conforms to one of Luke's apparent reasons in writing the Luke/Acts account. It may well be the case that Luke is the

³²Dungan, 44f; see esp. his suggested parallel with the practice of the Essenes, as found in Josephus (B.J. 2, 124-127).

³³Cf. the scriptural directives concerning such hospitality: Gen. 18:19; Deut. 10:18, 19; Lev. 19:33, 34; Jud. 19:20; 1 Sam. 25:8; Job 31:31, 32.

³⁴Dungan, 72.

only Gospel writer to include this saying precisely because he understood the great significance it later came to have in the early church.

For the early Christian missionaries, hospitality may have been expected from adherents of the Old Testament Law, but it was not necessarily to be expected from the Gentile community.

c) The Content of the Command

In Mt. 10:8b we have what Dungan calls an ". . . authentic expression of typical early-first-century Judean sentiment regarding the matter of payment for religious duty".³⁵

³⁵Dungan, 54. Many commentators understand v. 8b to be explicitly stating that the disciples are not to accept money in exchange for their acts of ministry (so A. H. McNeile The Gospel According to St. Matthew London:1915, 134; F. V. Filson A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew London:1960, 130; D. Hill The Gospel of Matthew London:1972, 185). Yet, the sense of the verse should not be interpreted in such a negative way. It seems, rather, to be expressing the positive attitude of self-giving as one of the central motivations of the evangelistic mission. This is manifested in the charge that the disciples are to be engaged in 'healing the sick, cleansing lepers, and casting out demons' (v. 8a). There is no direct stipulation in the verse which instructs the disciples not to accept money for their service (contra Filson, 130). The prohibition which is stated by the Lord, properly in negative terms, is that they must not begin their journey with several material provisions which would have ensured their comfort and maintenance during the mission.

It was A. B. Bruce's opinion that the operative verb of Mt. 10:9 (κτίσθητε) prohibited both the taking of the listed elements on the journey, as well as the acquiring of such elements during the journey (The Expositor's Greek Testament Vol. I, 1897, 160; cf. F. W. Green The Gospel According to St. Matthew Oxford:1937, 166). However, we are inclined to agree with McNeile who understands that the prohibition refers only to provisions which were not to be taken before the journey (McNeile, 135). During the journey, Jesus' words in Mt. 10:10b would seem to allow the reception of some of these elements: ἄξιός γάρ ἐστις ἵνα αὐτοὶ ἀγοράσῃ τὴν τροφήν αὐτοῦ (ἄξιός γάρ ἐστις ἵνα αὐτοὶ ἀγοράσῃ τὴν τροφήν αὐτοῦ, Lk. 10:7). At least in the case of τροφή and μισθοί, the disciples were to acquire these things during the journey. Only with this interpretation does the "ἄξιός" passage make sense.

The concept of Jesus' δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε δωρεὰν δότε is paralleled in Rabbinic sayings which were probably contemporary with the words of Jesus.³⁶

Rather than focusing specifically on 'money' and whether an apostle may receive such a provision during his ministry, we need to treat the instructions of Jesus as a whole. We understand that he was giving his disciples a set of instructions designed to establish the lifestyle and characteristics of those who were announcing his message. This being the case, we will want to ask whether Paul and his company gave any consideration to these lifestyle instructions during their journeys, or had they completely dismissed them?

d) Paul's Missionary Practices

1) Ceremonial Cursing

On what is commonly known as the first missionary journey, Paul and Barnabas met opposition to their message at Pisidian Antioch. Their ceremonial cursing of the city, by shaking the dust of the city from their sandals, aligns closely with Jesus' instructions (Acts 13:51; cf. Mt. 10:14; Mk. 6:11; Lk. 9:5; 10:10-11).³⁷

³⁶Cf. P. Aboth 1:13 (text cited above, p. 8, n. 16); also Mish. Ab. 4.5; ab. de R. Nathan 12; b. Nederim 37a; b. Nedarim 38c; b. Bechorath 29a.

³⁷H. B. Swete (The Gospel According to St. Mark London, 1927, 118) understands Paul and Barnabas to have been acting upon Jesus' command, although this was also a common form of 'cursing' in Palestinian circles.

2) Duration of Mission

The mission upon which Jesus sent his disciples seems to have been of a limited duration. The accounts of Mark and Luke suggest only a very short interval between the sending out of the disciples and their return (Mk: Sent-6:7-11, Return-6:30; Luke: Sent 9:1-6, Return 9:10 (Twelve); Sent-10:1-12, Return 10:17 (Seventy-two)). Matthew does not record the return of the disciples specifically. While we are not able to measure accurately the probable duration of these journeys, we find it doubtful that they would have lasted as long as some of the known missions of Paul.

In Paul's situation then, his adherence to the instruction to receive support only from the one home in which he would have stayed (Mt. 10:11; Mk. 6:10; Lk. 9:4; 10:7) could have become an intolerable burden to that one household. Such a thing is one of the express reasons Paul gave in his argument for refusing support (1 Cor. 9:12(?); 2 Cor. 11:9; 12:13, 16; 1 Thess. 2:9).

3) Finding a Dwelling Place

A careful reading of Acts regarding the selection of places in which Paul and his party would dwell presents us with an interesting, and complicated, picture. We find examples which seem to follow the pattern set down by Jesus, but there are also some exceptions.

In Acts 16:15, Paul accepts the invitation of Lydia to abide in her home. Lydia's request that Paul determine the suitability of her invitation is reminiscent of the

criteria established by the Lord for his disciples to find accommodation in the cities in which they were sent (Mt. 10:11).³⁸ However, in this case, it is the homeowner who makes the suggestion that Paul judge her 'worthiness'³⁹ to provide lodging for him, rather than Paul having made an independent assessment. It is clear from Acts that Paul and his party had dwelt elsewhere in Philippi before the conversion of Lydia on the Sabbath (Acts 16:13ff). Yet, we have no insight provided in the account as to where the dwelling place may have been, nor as to the circumstances surrounding his choice of a dwelling.

On another occasion, in Thessalonica, we find the wrath of the anti-Pauline crowd centred upon the house of Jason (Acts 17:6). Our question at such a point concerns the crowd's knowledge that it was at the house of Jason that Paul would most likely have been found. Was Paul following the instructions of Jesus and remaining in one home throughout his stay in one particular city? Or was it the case that the crowd was aware that, at that particular time, Paul was dwelling at Jason's home?

A major indication of Paul's practice in this regard is available to us in his circumstances in Corinth. It is reported that he finds (εὑρίσκει) Aquila and Priscilla in

³⁸ Lydia's request focuses on Paul's determination of her 'worthiness': Εἰ κεκρίκατε με πιστὴν, ὥς κυρίως εἶναι ἐλθεῖν ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου μένετε , Acts 16:5a.

³⁹ The term does not indicate any consideration of merit, but was associated with a person's attitude and reception of the Gospel; cf. Foerster " ἀξίος " TDNT I 379-380.

the market place and decides to stay with them because they engaged in the same trade as did he (Acts 18:3). It seems clear that, at least in Corinth, this couple's relationship with the Gospel (i.e., their 'worthiness') may not have been the sole basis upon which Paul accepted their hospitality. Apparently, it was Paul's primary concern upon entering the city, to seek out an opportunity to work at his trade rather than to seek out a 'worthy' home from which to receive support.

Even so, Acts 18:7 presents the distinct possibility that Paul later dwelled with a man named Justus who lived adjacent to the synagogue. It appears, then, that Paul did not limit himself to one dwelling place within Corinth. Thus, on two accounts, the Apostle had not explicitly followed the instructions of Jesus for determining a proper place in which to dwell during his evangelistic visitation to a city.

4) Conclusion

Therefore, it appears that Paul may have generally followed the instructions of Jesus in certain circumstances during his Gentile ministry. Yet, it is also the case that we have observed that, at times, he disregarded such instructions and used his own volition in determining how he should act. This is especially true with the issue of support, since in Corinth and, very likely, also in Thessalonica (1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8), his search for an opportunity to be self-supportive took precedence over the instruction to find a 'worthy' dwelling place.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Cf. R. F. Hock "The Workshop as a Social Setting for Paul's Missionary Preaching" CBQ 41 3 (7/79) 438-450.

We conclude that Paul believed the instructions of Jesus to his disciples were made to a specific group, for the specific purpose of a mission of a limited duration in a land which would have been conducive to such a mission. It appears that the aim of the disciples' mission was to provide them an opportunity to understand the nature of their full dependency on the provision of God for their welfare. This dependency was already a major characteristic of the Apostle Paul's mission and theological base.

Thus, Paul understood Jesus' instructions not as commands necessary for all missionary journeys in all circumstances, but as precedents; non-obligatory examples of the provision of God for his ministers. Although we have no conclusive evidence that Paul was acquainted with the words of Jesus in Lk. 22:35-38, we can assume that he was aware that ministering in Gentile territory meant that one needed to be adaptable to diverse situations, and diverse responses to them.

Therefore, Paul is able to use the instructions of Jesus to establish his right to receive support from Corinth. Yet, he may, in certain circumstances, feel justified in refusing such rights when the conditions of his present situation are determined to be contrary to conditions found in the precedent. Paul considered that he was free to understand the precedents as established rules which he could accept, or, in extraordinary cases, reject. Thus our question moves from a consideration of

Paul's understanding of the obligatory nature of a command from Jesus, to a consideration of what overriding reason existed in Corinth (or in his ministry generally) which caused him to refuse the support he was entitled to receive? We believe, this is the primary factor to be considered in this issue, in spite of the fact that most commentators have failed to give adequate treatment to this question.

7) Paul's Refusal of Support

a) The Compulsion (*αναγκη*)

Returning to the text of 1 Cor. 9, in v. 15 there is an indication of just how emotionally charged Paul's view of this issue was here. Whether one understands Paul's grammatical break as a case of anacoluthon, aposiopesis, or something else,⁴¹ the intensity of the verse comes through clearly.⁴²

Paul realized that he had built a strong case. Rather than continuing his rhetorical style, he moved directly to the heart of the matter.⁴³

⁴¹Such breaks are not uncommon in Paul, cf. 1 Cor. 15:1-2; Ro. 5:12; 9:22-24; 2 Cor. 12:6-7; Gal. 2:3-6. See also the comments of Conzelmann 1 Corinthians, 158; and Barrett, who calls the break "characteristically Pauline" (208).

⁴²Cf. Conzelmann, 1 Corinthians, 158; Käsemann- "A Pauline Version of the 'Amor Fati'" New Testament Questions For Today London:1969, 217-235, "The temperament of the Apostle is for ever breaking through the ordered pattern of established rules" (218-219).

⁴³Conzelmann (158) criticizes Käsemann for understanding vv. 14-18 as "totally superfluous" (218) to the context; we would agree with Conzelmann here.

We believe the argument of the Apostle in vv. 16-18 need to be taken as a whole. Paul presented his case with the understanding that the issues, with which he dealt in these verses, represented nothing less than a major reason for him to boast about his preaching.⁴⁴

In what we believe to be an extraordinarily important statement regarding Paul's refusal of support, he referred to the concept of the *'ἀνυγκη'* which had made it compulsory for him to preach the Gospel.

In both Hellenistic and Jewish usage prior to the New Testament period, the term was associated with 'compulsion' directed by a deity. It appears that Paul also had God in mind as the author of the *'ἀνυγκη'* which held him. His well-being was intimately related to his response to that compulsion, as he himself exclaimed:
οὐαὶ ἄρ' μοι ἔστιν ἐάν μὴ εὐαγγελισμαί .⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Some commentators understand this 'boast' to parallel that in 2 Cor. 11:10 (Bultmann *TDNT* III, 651; Lietzmann *An die Korinther I-II*, 180) but Käsemann rejects this (227; He believes the 2 Cor. passage "to be Paul's attempt to distinguish himself from the false apostles and this is not the case in 1 Cor. 9").

Dautzenberg believes Paul's boast here is similar to those found in 2 Cor. 11:30; 12:9; Gal. 6:14. He understands Paul to be glorying in the fact that his lifestyle led to the establishment of the Corinthian church (230).

But Schütz (234) states that there is a paradox in Paul's boasting between "personal pride" and the acknowledgement that it is God who gives the increase.

Although we would not go as far to call it 'personal pride', there does seem to be some truth to Paul's wish to be financially independent and free to determine his own movement, and to glory in accomplishments gained through his own work.

⁴⁵ Cf. Käsemann believes there have been three major ways in which Paul's 'compulsion' has been interpreted:

The terms ἐκὼς δὲ δέκω give an effective word play in v. 17 which illustrates the reasoning of the Apostle. They refer back to the action of preaching, with ἀνῆλθεν in mind, and present Paul's self-understanding regarding the part he had to play in the proclamation of the Gospel.

Thus, as Käsemann suggests, the fundamental question which Paul attempted to answer was: "How can the man who experiences the compulsion of the Gospel as that of his destiny, at the same time be, and remain, the man who loves?"⁴⁶

1) the necessity of preaching refers back to the obligation of his calling; 2) psychological inner compulsion; 3) referring to his Damascus road experience (cf. also Conzelmann, 158, who understands Paul to have a self-understanding similar to Jeremiah's; contra Dautzenberg, 227). Yet, for Käsemann, he relates the term to a destiny which is not an inner compulsion but which comes from outside himself. For him the ἀνῆλθεν and the ὁβελία are personified. Their presence is the guarantee that "divine power is taking place" (230).

Betz (sokratische Tradition, 103) views the idea of compulsion in a very different way. He believes that Paul refers only to the fact that the only compulsion he has is to preach. Thus, he is under no obligation to accept Corinthian support. He is free to accept or reject such support as he sees fit.

⁴⁶Cf. Dautzenberg (227) who rejects the dialectical nature of Käsemann's question. He rephrases it to ask how Paul can best operate in his commission to serve the Gospel and, at the same time, be a sharer in that Gospel?

We believe Dautzenberg to be a bit closer to the Pauline sense here, although we also want to notice the important contribution that Käsemann makes. He rightly understands the ἀνῆλθεν as a 'compulsion' which is directed toward Paul from outside himself. However, in making his point, Käsemann wants to isolate the sense of ἀνῆλθεν and ὁβελία to a solely outward form of 'destiny'. Yet Paul's point in the following verses was to explain how he attempted to 'internalize' this outward compulsion and to reveal his agreement with it. His struggle was to determine how, since his life had been re-directed, he could show his willingness to follow the new course to

The Apostle showed, in no uncertain terms, that the actual initiatory motive for his preaching (and, by inference, all of his missionary work) came from outside himself and might be characterised as an 'unwilling compulsion'. The translation 'unwilling' for ἀκω cannot be pressed too far, however. While it accurately retains the word play of the sentence, it could give the impression that Paul had a negative attitude toward his mission. Of course, this is not the Apostle's intention. As he showed in v. 18, he can claim a μισθός, which is also identified as his καθήκον, if he gives up the right of support which is characteristic of his occupation.⁴⁷

which he had been opposed earlier in his life. Because of these considerations, while Käsemann provides insights into the source and content of the ἀνυγκη, Dautzenberg's 'question' comes closer to the purposes for which Paul provided his arguments.

⁴⁷ This is also the view of Käsemann to a certain degree (he understands Paul's destiny as his 'reward and boast', 234). Yet, he goes farther than is warranted by the evidence, by understanding the ἀνυγκη as placing a necessity upon Paul to reject the rights to support which normally would be his ("He would have a right to support, if he had taken on the work of his own volition. One can demand no reward from ἀναγκη", one can only bow to it or rebel against it", 231). He presses this position because he adamantly wants to remove from the interpretation of this verse, any possibility that Paul is speaking about gaining a reward from works of supererogation (219f), or from having some inner-pride or peace from voluntary service (223).

Dautzenberg objects to Käsemann's belief that Paul involuntarily needed to reject his rights to support, rather than having renounced those rights as part of his understanding of his unique position (cf. Prätscher, 298, who criticizes Dautzenberg for entitling his article incorrectly!).

Barrett (210) and Conzelmann (158) take the terminology of μισθός and καθήκον in a more practical way, understanding Paul to have had the actual payment of support in mind to which he had no claim since he was under compulsion to preach.

While an admission of compulsion implies less than a full co-operation of the will, Paul wanted his readers to understand that, although he was under compulsion to initiate his ministry, he was currently in full agreement with that mission and would give himself over to it wholeheartedly. Thus, if it were an option open to him, he would complete the task ἐκὼν (the compulsion, in effect, could be removed and Paul would have been no less fervent in the completion of his work).⁴⁸ Paul expresses his enthusiastic agreement with his ministry by refusing to accept monetary remuneration for it, as if he needed to receive compensation for doing a task which he would rather not be doing.

Although Prätscher complains that he finds no explicit verbal expression of the Mt. 10:8 principle of δαπεδν, ἐλάβετε δαπεδν, δότε in Paul's reasoning,⁴⁹ we believe the concept is certainly implied in the Apostle's understanding of his response to ἀνυγκη. Paul does not refuse support because he has no right to claim it,⁵⁰ but he does look upon his own circumstances as fundamentally different from those who had voluntarily submitted to their commissioning. Since he had such a unique experience, he likewise needed a unique response to that commissioning which would reveal that his compulsion need not imply his unwillingness to complete the task mandated by that compulsion.⁵¹

⁴⁸Cf. Dautzenberg, 226.

⁴⁹Prätscher, 291.

⁵⁰contra Käsemann, 229, 231.

⁵¹contra Käsemann, 229: "The antithesis to the other apostles is thus a blind alley".

We believe Paul was in pursuit of a *μισθός* when he renounced his right to accept support. The determinative factor for us is the *ἐκὼν, ἄκων* word play. Paul was not just a non-believer before his conversion and commission, he was altogether anti-Christian; he had not forgotten his days of persecution (Acts 9:4f; 22:4; 26:11; 1 Cor. 15:9; Gal. 1:13). Paul's words in 1 Cor. 15:10 provide an insightful account of his struggle. He states that it was through the grace of God that "he is what he is" (*εἰμι ἵδ' εἰμι*) and this grace had not been given "in vain" (*κενῇ*). But, in response to that grace, as a former persecutor, Paul writes: *ἀλλὰ περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίᾳ οὐκ ἐγώ, δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί*. This was his struggle, as Dautzenberg rightly posed it: "Wie kann Paulus in der aufgetregenen *οἰκονομίᾳ* dem Evangelium am besten dienen, oder wie kann er Teilhaber am Evangelium werden?"⁵²

Paul's answer to this question involved preaching the Gospel freely. In not accepting support, which was rightfully his, he had the reward which he sought. By refusing monetary support, Paul, in an outward, positive fashion, expresses his desire to be following the will of God willingly and no longer solely by means of the compulsion alone. He demonstrated to the author of that compulsion, to himself,

⁵²Dautzenberg, 227.

and to any interested observers, that the former persecutor-Paul, had become the willing Apostle-Paul. His reward then, was that he was able to preach the very word of truth freely, where previously he had been striving against it. Thus, he showed himself to be 'won-over' by the Gospel and not just by the compulsion.

We believe this particular interpretation of the 'ἀνγκη' and Paul's response to it are unique contributions of our study. We also wish to show our unique understanding of the place of this 'ἀνγκη' concept in Paul's financial dealings with his churches and its ramifications for an understanding of the Corinthians' reaction to Paul's collection appeals.

b) "All Things to All Men"

The remaining issue in our consideration of the Pauline refusal of support is the understanding of how contextually conditioned his arguments were in regard to the situation at Corinth. For it is of crucial importance to our overall view of Paul's financial relationship with his churches to know whether this 'ἀνγκη' concept' (with the resultant refusal of support) constitutes the basis of his financial strategy toward all churches, or is solely to be understood as applicable to the Corinthian church.

Such a consideration is made all the more crucial when we observe Paul's argument in 1 Cor. 9:19-23. While it is not our purpose to give a detailed analysis of that section itself, we need to be aware how the familiar "all things to all men" proclamation relates to our issue.

Dungan considers this particular section to contain the basic elements of Paul's missionary strategy. Thus, in the conclusion of the first part of his study, he understands Paul to have endeavoured to proclaim his own license to re-interpret, or disregard what others might consider to be obligatory commands of the Lord if they would in anyway impede the continued success of the Gospel in multi-cultural territories.⁵³

To Dungan, then, it is apparent that this missionary strategy would supersede even the Pauline '*ἀναγκη* concept'. Thus, when the situation dictated, Dungan understands Paul to be capable of relativising ". . . many sacred obligations and institutions".⁵⁴

In the case of Paul's renunciation of Corinthian support, Dungan believes Paul to have broken an obligatory command from the Lord for the purposes of allowing no 'obstacles' to come in the way of the Gospel. Yet, surely on the basis of Dungan's reasoning, Paul had made a gross error in judgement in assuming that his refusal of support would aid the Gospel's reception in Corinth. Later, Paul would have compounded his error with extreme stubbornness, since it became painfully obvious that his actions with regard to the support issue had, in themselves, become an obstacle to the Corinthians' acceptance of his ministry (cf. 2 Cor. 11:12). Under such a view we can only consider

⁵³Dungan, 35.

⁵⁴Ibid., 33.

Paul's 'missionary strategy' to be one of complete chaos and confusion, open to behavioural relativity and emotional whim.

We believe that precisely because Paul remained adamant about his refusal to accept support from Corinth, despite the misunderstanding and bitterness it caused the Corinthians, his principle of *'ἀνυγκη'* should be understood to be one which was trans-cultural; not limited to the church at Corinth only, but applicable to each missionary situation in which he ministered.

It seems to us to be an improper hermeneutic which forces the *'ἀνυγκη'* concept' and the Pauline 'theory of relativity' to explain one another in this chapter. Those scholars who engage in such an activity, do so by risking the function of these arguments and their principles in the context. We need to keep in mind that Paul had been arguing that the man who is truly 'free' is also obliged, at times, to restrict that freedom for the sake of a higher goal. Thus, the two principles mentioned above need to be understood in light of that theme. They stand as illustrations from Paul's ministry concerning his own restraint of personal freedom.⁵⁵

We believe Dungan to be incorrect in attempting to explain Paul's refusal of support as a natural outgrowth

⁵⁵The appearance of *'Ελευθερος'* at the start of the illustration indicates that the example given also stands as an explanation of Paul's self-understanding with regard to his freedom as an apostle.

of an ability and habit of relativising the commands of the Lord whenever a situation demanded. Rather, Paul made the point in vv. 19-23 that even though he is free (Ἐλευθερος γὰρ ὄν, ἐκ πάντων), his understanding of the Gospel had made a fundamental change in that concept (πᾶσι νῦν ἑμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα)⁵⁶. Thus, Paul's 'missionary strategy' is not given as part of his argument for refusing Corinthian support, rather, he included these two independent principles only insofar as they illustrated his arguments regarding the restraint of personal freedom. It is in the midst of the idol-meat controversy that these points are made, and it is in light of that context that the points should be understood.

8) Conclusion of 1 Cor. 9 Analysis

The reasons Paul gave in this chapter for his refusal of support, specifically with regard to the ἰδιωτική concept, must be considered applicable to all situations in which he ministered. That 'compulsion' was not limited to Corinth, but was related to his self-understanding of his ministry and office. His unique standing as a

⁵⁶ The aorist active reveals a conscious act on Paul's part which had already taken place. The following verses, up to and including v. 22b, illustrate the practical out-working of this change in Paul's condition. Then, in vv. 22b-23, he states the actual principle which he believes had warranted his restraint of personal freedom: τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔγωγε πάντα ἑνὶ παντοῦς τιναδὲ σώσω πάντα δὲ ποιῶ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίον ἑνὶ συγκοινωνῶς καθ' αὐτοῦ γένεσθαι

Barrett (212-215) provides a full discussion of the change in Paul's condition. He understands Paul to be in a new position with regard to the Law which actually placed him at a greater indebtedness to God than would a strict adherence of legalism. His relation to the Lord by means of grace made Paul Christ's slave and, as such, he owed allegiance only to him and not to a legal code (214).

proclaimer of the Gospel, forced him to make a unique response. Refusing support was Paul's way of turning a compulsion into a predilection.

To understand how this 'compulsion' was related to his financial practices with other churches, we must attempt to analyse how he approached those relationships. Was it the case that Paul tried to be consistent in his understanding of the *ἀνταρκη*, or had he just used the argument to satisfy Corinthian criticism?

The Support Issue in the Pauline Churches

1) Prior to Corinth

We will follow the sequence of Paul's journeys as recorded in the book of Acts in our consideration of his financial dealings with his churches. As a consequence of this, we understand Paul to have begun his missionary endeavours in Macedonia with the church at Philippi (Acts 16:13).⁵⁷

When Paul writes to the church at Philippi from prison (whichever one it might be) he expresses his gratitude for receiving gifts from them⁵⁸ (Phil. 1:15;

⁵⁷ The extent of his ministry in Neapolis cannot be known; his time in Samothrace was limited to one day: 16:11.

⁵⁸ Cf. J. R. Lightfoot-Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (1908), 83, who understands *κοινωνία* here as referring to almsgiving but which also has a general application of cooperation; also H. A. A. Kennedy-Expositor's Greek Testament IV, 418-19; A. T. Robertson-Paul's Joy in Christ (1970 reprint; 1917) 61f.; K. Barth-The Epistle to the Philippians (1962) 16; D. Georgi-Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem (1965) 47.

4:10)⁵⁹. While it is generally assumed that this reception of Philippian generosity occurred later than the composition of 1 Corinthians, the Apostle includes, in his epistle, references to earlier gifts which he had received from this same church prior to his arrival in Corinth (Acts 18:1). It is possible that he received some support while he was in Philippi for the first time⁶⁰ and he expressly says that he received more than one gift in Thessalonica⁶¹ (Phil. 1:5; 4:15-16).

According to Acts, Paul's next area of ministry would have been in Thessalonica (Acts 17:1). As we have noted, Phil. 4:16 reports that Paul received more than one gift from the Philippians while he ministered there.⁶²

⁵⁹We understand Philippians to be a unity, contra F. W. Beare-
A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians (1959) 150,
who bases his view on the word ἀπέχτω ("I have received",
4:18) as a term ". . . found on thousands of commercial
documents to acknowledge the receipt of money or goods; a
word as unmistakable as the mark of a rubber stamp on a
bill, paid"; cf. B. D. Rahtjen-"The Three Letters of Paul
to the Philippians" NTS 6(1960) 173; Georgi-Kollekte
46-51, esp. 47 n.160.

⁶⁰The 1:5 passage is usually thought to refer to the same
instances recorded in 4:15f, that the church gave him gifts
after he left them and, at least, while he was in Thessalonica;
so J. H. Michael-The Epistle to the Philippians (1928) 12;
Beare, 53. However, both 1:15 and 4:10a refer to the fact
that the "fellowship" (κοινωνία taken concretely) began
from the first day (time measured from the beginning of
preaching in Philippi; so Kennedy- 471). The Phil. 4:16
account only expresses that after he left Philippi, theirs
was the only church supporting him, it does not necessarily
preclude his reception of support while in Philippi; cf.
R. Martin- Philippians (1976) 166.

⁶¹Cf. L. Morris "KAI HAPAX KAI DIS" NovT 1 (1956) 205-208.

⁶²Acts 20:1-2, 3-6 are possible references to other occasions
when Paul could have been in Thessalonica, but it is not
likely Paul had these occasions in mind when he wrote Phil. 4:16.

Yet, while Paul acknowledges the receipt of gifts in his letter to the Philippians, in both of his Thessalonian epistles he not only neglects to mention the gifts but gives the impression that it was through his labour that he supported himself (1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8).

Concerning the Thessalonian situation, J. E. Frame⁶³ and A. L. Moore⁶⁴ both understand the Thessalonian church to have been populated by working-class individuals for whom the supporting of an apostle's ministry would have been an untold burden. Opposed to this view is D. E. Hiebert who believes Paul's motivation for rejecting support from them and attempting to be self-supportive had less to do with his concern of being non-burdening, and more with his desire to maintain his independence from the church.⁶⁵

While many commentators understand 2 Thess. 3:9 to be a further elaboration of Paul's reasons for refusing support⁶⁶, Moore and Hiebert emphasize that the example in this passage was meant more for the benefit of those who had become idle and made unjustified demands on the church for their own support.⁶⁷

⁶³J. E. Frame-A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians (1912) 103.

⁶⁴A. L. Moore-1 and 2 Thessalonians (1969) 39-40.

⁶⁵D. E. Hiebert-The Thessalonian Epistles (1971) 99.

⁶⁶Cf. Frame, 304; R. A. Ward-Commentary on 1 and 2 Thessalonians (1973) 171.

⁶⁷Moore, 117; Hiebert, 343.

Incredibly without further comment Moore and Hiebert refer to Paul's reception of funds from Philippi (Phil. 4:16) as 'supplemental income' to the meager amount of support he could expect to receive from the Thessalonians.⁶⁸ We say 'incredibly' since the foundation of Paul's claim to be self-supportive, and his establishment of an example for the Thessalonians to emulate, would come 'crashing down' if the Thessalonians had learned about this outside support.⁶⁹ Paul's denial of support in the Thessalonian letters leaves no room for such outside income. Support of any kind, from anywhere, would have had the effect of falsifying his claim.

Therefore, as far as we can determine, when Paul wrote his reasons for refusal of Corinthian support in 1 Cor. 9, he did so with the full knowledge that at Thessalonica (and possibly at Philippi) the Philippian church had sent support which he had gratefully received. Yet, when he wrote to the Thessalonians, he admonished them to imitate his example (2 Thess. 3:9) of working for their own support, which, he claimed, he had done as an outpouring of his love for them (1 Thess. 2:8).

In writing the Corinthians, as we have observed, he presented his 'ἀνταρκή' concept' which we believe would be applicable to trans-cultural situations. Thus, according

⁶⁸Moore, 39; Hiebert, 99.

⁶⁹Dungan, 22: "The impact of Paul's proud boast would have been greatly reduced among the Thessalonians had they known of the aid coming to him from Philippi."

to his own principles, Paul should not have accepted money from any church at all, including Philippi.

2) After Corinth

When we read 2 Corinthians 11:7f, it is apparent that the Corinthians had discovered what the Thessalonians had not, namely, while Paul refused support from the church in which he actively ministered, a supply of funds came to him from Macedonia.⁷⁰

The reference to Macedonia here is difficult to identify with precision. While we are immediately reminded of the generosity of the Philippians⁷¹ the reference itself does not demand that the gift be limited to them.⁷² In fact, Paul's expression that he 'ἐκκλησίας εὐλόγησα (11:8) apparently has more than just the Philippian church in view. Such a circumstance forces Tasker to say that Paul had "no hard and fast rules about receiving gifts from his converts".⁷³ Yet, we ask how

⁷⁰Ibid., 38: "It does seem that Paul was indeed trapped by his own words for it is interesting to note that Paul says nothing about 'working night and day' in order not to burden them, but rather admits that money had come from elsewhere. It must have been most embarrassing"; cf. B. Holmberg Paul and Power, 94, who also understands Paul to have written the passage with "a measure of embarrassment".

⁷¹Cf. Strachan The Second Epistle of Paul to Corinth London: 1935, 22.

⁷²Apparently Paul had in mind the arrival in Corinth of Silas and Timothy (Acts 18:5; cf. Tasker, 152; Filson, "The Second Epistle to the Corinthians", 396). Yet, the originating point of their journey cannot be accurately delineated, "Macedonia" as found in 2 Cor. and Acts accounts being a very broad and general term.

⁷³Tasker, 152.

such a statement can be valid in light of Paul's argument in 1 Cor. 9 and his continual refusal of Corinthian support?

Later in 2 Corinthians (12:13), Paul seemed to enlarge the scope of the churches from which he accepted financial gifts. He asked the Corinthians: *τί γὰρ ἐστὶν ὃ ἡσσωθήτε ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰ μὴ αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ οὐ κατενόρησα ὑμῶν*. The situation, at least on the surface, appears to make the Corinthians the exception to the rule that Paul accepted support from every church except their church.

Given these circumstances, it is understandable that the Corinthians would be upset at Paul's apparent inconsistency with regard to his financial affairs. We also can understand how the Corinthians could transfer their suspicions from Paul's motives in the support issue, to his motives with regard to the collection issue (2 Cor. 12:16ff).

Finally, in Acts 20:18ff, Paul, in his speech to the Asian Christians, reminds them how he "coveted no man's silver and that, *ταῖς χρεΐαις μου καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ὑπηρέτησαν αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῖ* (v. 34). Once again, he made no mention of the gifts he had admitted receiving in Phil. 4:10; 2 Cor. 11:7ff; and 2 Cor. 12:13ff.

Thus we have the following set of circumstances:

1) 1-2 Thessalonians - Paul exhorts them to follow his example of working hard for his own provisions, and refusing to be a burden to anyone. In effect, he denied receiving support from anyone.

2) 1 Corinthians - He used his refusal of support as an example of his restraint of Christian freedom. He cites at least one principle in this regard, the 'ἀνάγκη(v)' concept' which appears to be applicable to every situation.

3) 2 Corinthians - We have references to the fact that while he ministered in Corinth (and refused their support), certain 'brothers' came from Macedonia and supplied his needs (11:9). Also, he admits to having 'robbed' other churches in order to serve in Corinth (11:8), which enlarges to make Corinth the only church from which he apparently had not accepted support (12:13).

4) Philippians - Paul thanked the church for their renewal of interest in him during his present imprisonment (1:5; 4:10ff), for past aid in Thessalonica (4:16), and, possibly, for aid in Philippi earlier (1:5; 4:15). Yet, he led the Philippians to believe that they were the only ones to have had such a relationship with him. If this epistle was written from Rome, as most traditional views would hold⁷⁴, this statement would have been made toward the close of his mission. Consequently, he was being less than honest to the Philippians in light of what he had written to the Corinthians (unless one wishes to believe that Paul's reference to "other churches" referred only to Philippi).

⁷⁴Cf. the traditional arguments of J. B. Lightfoot St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, 30ff; and H. C. G. Moule The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians London:1911 (8 ed.).

3) Possible Solutions

Many commentators have developed lists of reasons for Paul's renunciation of support in certain churches, in light of the complicated epistolary evidence we have cited. Some of the reasons are obvious, since they are explicitly stated by Paul, while others have been understood as either implicit in the Pauline passages themselves, or derived from an understanding of the Pauline mission as a whole.

1) Love for his Converts (1 Thess. 2:7f; 2 Cor. 12:14f); Dautzenberg, Holmberg, Prätscher.⁷⁵

2) Example for the Church (2 Thess. 3:7-9): working with his hands - Frame, Dautzenberg, Moore, Ward, Holmberg⁷⁶; maintain his independence - Hiebert.⁷⁷

3) Place no Obstacle Before the Gospel (1 Cor. 9:14)

a) Generally - Dautzenberg, Barrett.⁷⁸

b) Missionary Strategy - Dungan, Betz, Holmberg.⁷⁹

⁷⁵Dautzenberg, 219; Holmberg, 92; Prätscher, 284.

⁷⁶Frame, 103; Dautzenberg, 223f.: he connects Paul's apostolic love, work and suffering with Paul's "Leidenstheologie" resulting in self-sacrifice of his rights for the needs of others; Moore, 117; Ward, 64, 171; Holmberg, 92.

⁷⁷Hiebert, 100, 343: "This practice of earning his own living enabled Paul to maintain a position of complete independence in dealing with his converts, 100.

⁷⁸Dautzenberg, 219: he terms Paul's attitude as "σκάνδαλον - Theologie" which, at all costs, attempted to remove any possible hinderances to the progression of the Gospel; Barrett, 281: Paul believed the Corinthian situation to be one in which he needed to refuse support, but Barrett adds, evidently he misread the situation and the reaction which would result.

⁷⁹Dungan, 25; Betz, sokratische Tradition, 104; Holmberg, 93.

c) Defend himself from charge of having Mercenary Motives - Dungan, Hiebert, Holmberg.⁸⁰

d) Not to be a financial burden to the churches - (2 Cor. 11:7; 12:16; 1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:9): Frame, Dungan, Ward, Prätscher⁸¹; contra Betz.⁸²

4) Response to the ἀνάγκη (1 Cor. 9:15-18):

Käsemann, Betz, Holmberg, Prätscher.⁸³

5) Maintain a Distinction From His Opponents

(2 Cor. 11:7ff): Strachan, Tasker, Dautzenberg, Filson, Beasley-Murray, Hiebert, Barrett, Betz, Prätscher.⁸⁴

6) Pragmatic Reasons - Funds were available from Philippi Holmberg, Prätscher.⁸⁵

7) Reveals a Certain Apostolic Self-Understanding:

Schütz, Dautzenberg.⁸⁶

8) Follows Jesus' Exhortation to Preach freely: Betz.⁸⁷

⁸⁰Dungan, 31; Hiebert, 101; Holmberg, 92.

⁸¹Frame, 103; Dungan 30: Paul may have begun his ministry in Philippi because of its ability to support his mission elsewhere; Ward, 64; Prätscher, 284.

⁸²Betz, sokratische Tradition, 102: Paul was sarcastic in 2 Cor. 11:7. Corinth was 'well-to-do' and fully able to support him.

⁸³Käsemann, 230: Rejects support of necessity; Betz, sokratische Tradition, 103: compulsion pertained to preaching only; Prätscher, 291: not really a major motivation.

⁸⁴Strachan, 23; Tasker, 153; Dautzenberg, 219; Filson, "The Second Epistle to the Corinthians", 396; Beasley-Murray, 68; Hiebert, 100; Barrett Second Corinthians, 284; Betz, 102; Prätscher, 284.

⁸⁵Holmberg, 93; Prätscher, 284.

⁸⁶Schütz, 233ff; Dautzenberg, 221.

⁸⁷Betz, sokratische Tradition, 101.

9) Paul Needed More Than the Corinthians Offered:Betz. ⁸⁸10) Wanted a Chance to Share With Needy: Hiebert. ⁸⁹

On the question of under what circumstances Paul would accept support, Holmberg believed Paul had a financial relationship only with those churches he had founded, and who had developed into a full-relationship of mutual trust with him.⁹⁰ It is Holmberg's understanding that it was not only the Philippian church which had such a relationship with him. On the contrary, it was only the Corinthian church which had not participated in such a giving/receiving relationship.⁹¹

Dungan and Prätscher generally agree with Holmberg. However, they add a slight modification. It is their view that Paul would only receive support from those churches in which he had finished his ministry and from which he had already departed.⁹² He did this, they claim, to insure that no one would suspect Paul to be taking advantage of a community while he was working with them, and that they might have an opportunity to send him on his way to another location, thus participating in the spread of the Gospel.⁹³

⁸⁸Ibid., 103.

⁸⁹Hiebert, 100.

⁹⁰Holmberg, 94.

⁹¹Holmberg, 94.

⁹²Dungan, 32; Holmberg, 94; Prätscher, 284.

⁹³Dungan, 32.

4) Problems With the Proposed Solutions

The plethora of harmonizations for these conflicting facts are at one and the same time exhausting and inadequate. The major difficulty, of course, is the fact that they do not adequately deal with the trans-cultural 'ἀνάγκη' concept' which we believe to be a major component of Paul's understanding of his office and mission.

To deal with these difficulties, some commentators have attempted to find a way of viewing the 'ἀνάγκη' concept' as situational in nature, confined only to the Corinthian church.⁹⁴ For such is the only way, they believe, to reconcile the accounts found in the Pauline epistles. However, we are not of the opinion that these solutions deal responsibly with the evidence as we understand it. The relegation of Paul's 'ἀνάγκη' concept' to a situationally conditioned principle, although suggested for the sake of maintaining some form of integrity and reasonableness for the Apostle Paul, actually has a quite opposite effect. These solutions force us to believe that Paul was indeed capable and willing to devise any type of argument which seemed to explain and/or justify his actions in a particular church. Thus, on such a basis, we can have no confidence at all that any Pauline argument reflects a shred of truth, since it might always be doubted that he provided a certain argument solely for the purposes of

⁹⁴Cf. our discussion, and criticism of Dungan's attempt above, p. 27-29; also see the attempts of Holmberg, 89-101; and Prätscher, 298.

escaping the consequences of his actions. These views totally destroy any vestigages of integrity we might wish to hold out for Paul.

5) A Suggested Solution

Our reconstruction of Paul's financial practices hinges on the harmonisation of Phil. 4:15 and 2 Cor. 11:8; 12:13.

In the Philippians' passage Paul states that "since the beginning" (of Paul's 'western' mission) only the Philippian church had entered into a giving/receiving relationship with him.⁹⁵ As we have observed, if it is believed that the Philippian epistle is written from a Roman prison, this statement is contradictory with Paul's admission of 'robbery' in 2 Cor. 11:8 and the disclaimer in 12:13: *τί γάρ ἐστιν ὃ ἡσώθητε ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰ μὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν* , 96.

On the one hand, Paul would have been false in specifying that he and Philippi had a special relationship.

⁹⁵Cf. Beare, Philippians, 154; and Michael, 220.

⁹⁶It is possible that these passages were written with a measure of sarcasm or irony (so Betz, 104, 106; Barrett, 281ff) and we might be in doubt as to how precise a statement Paul purposed to make there. This seems especially possible with reference to the 2 Cor. 12:13 account. He might have over-emphasised the scope of contributing churches. Also, he might be reflecting a charge or lament of the Corinthian church that Paul treats 'everybody' better than he treats them. However, as likely as over-statement may be, it is difficult to understand how, if Philippi were the only church to send support to Paul, he could appear to give the impression that he received support from other churches as well. It is this difficulty which prompts Holmberg to understand Corinth as the sole exception to the almost universal rule of church support for Paul (94).

On the other hand, it is obvious that the Corinthians viewed him as dishonest and *πανούργος* (12:16) in his financial dealings with them.

a) An Ephesian Origin for Philippians

Much of the difficulty in these passages can be alleviated if we might opt for an Ephesian origin for the Philippian epistle.⁹⁷ While there is no explicit reference in Scripture to an imprisonment in Ephesus, there are numerous references to incidents of imprisonments and sufferings reported to us by Paul in 2 Cor. 11 for which neither he nor Acts provides any further information.

The arguments for an Ephesian imprisonment are familiar.⁹⁸ Briefly we can state them as follows:

1) The many journeys of Epaphroditus, presupposed by the Philippian epistle, seem more plausible if he were commuting between Ephesus and Philippi, than between Rome and Philippi. We might also question Paul's wisdom in

⁹⁷G. S. Duncan (St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, 59) cites H. Lisso as the first 'modern' scholar to support an Ephesian origin (Vincula Sanctorum, 1900; Roma Peregrina, 1901). Of special interest to us is the work of W. Michaelis (Die Gefangenschaft des Paulus in Ephesus JTS (7/28), who dates the Phil. epistle before 2 Corinthians, as we also will suggest. Cf. the arguments for Ephesian origin of Philippians: M. Albertz "Über die Abfassung des Paulus in Ephesus" Studien und Kritiken, 1910; P. Fiene Die Abfassung des Paulus in Ephesus Gutersloh, 1910; K. Lake "The Critical Problems of the Epistle to the Philippians" Exp6(1914); C. R. Bowen "Are Paul's Prison Epistles from Ephesus?" AmJTh 1920; A. Deissmann in Anatolian Studies (Manchester, 1923); B. J. Robinson "An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul" JBL 1910; et al.

⁹⁸Recently R. Jewett had adopted this position: Dating Paul's Life, London:1979, 104.

allowing the recently recovered Epaphroditus to travel from Rome to Philippi to demonstrate his health. The journey itself would tax even the healthiest individual (Phil. 2:25ff).

2) Acts 19:22 seems to envisage the same journey of Timothy as does Phil. 2:19ff.

3) There are numerous references which clearly reveal that Paul encountered great hardship and opposition while ministering in Ephesus (Asia): Acts 20:18ff; 1 Cor. 4:9-13; 15:31f; 2 Cor. 1:8-10; 4:8-12; 6:4-10; 11:23-27.

4) It would appear somewhat incongruous for Paul to expect to travel to Philippi after his release from a Roman prison, since his stated goal was to move westward once he had reached Rome (Acts 20:25; Ro. 15:18-29).

5) If Paul had Judaizers in mind as those who were troubling the church (3:3) this may indicate a contemporary problem associated with the writing of Galatians and the Corinthian correspondence, which epistles have possible Ephesian origins.

Finally, for our own purposes, an Ephesian origin for the Philippian epistle would answer some of the major difficulties surrounding Paul's financial practices. If this were so, the references to 'other churches' in 2 Corinthians would occur later than the Phil. 4:15 account asserting a unique relationship between Philippi and the Apostle. By assuming an Ephesian imprisonment, we have what we might call a 'watershed' in Paul's financial practices.

1) Events Prior to an Ephesian Imprisonment-

We take seriously the Phil. 4:15 statement about Paul's unique relationship with Philippi. Accordingly, we think of the passage as originating from the Apostle at a time when his needs (Phil. 2:25) while in prison, were being met by the same church which had contributed to his support while he was in Thessalonica, and possibly in Philippi as well (all fairly recent events). In these three cases, we must notice the similarity in Paul's circumstances. In each case, he was either in the hands of local authorities (in Philippi-Acts 16:24; and presently in Ephesus-Phil. 1:13; 2:23), or he and his company were in some danger and the possibility of working for their own support had been precluded (Acts 17:5-9, 13).

Since Paul had no opportunity to support himself in these instances, the Philippian brethren came to his aid. He had no other recourse for his living expenses, or travel expenses, during his difficulties in Thessalonica. Possibly, even the bond for Jason (Acts 17:9) may have been paid by Philippian funds.

If, then, the gifts he received from Philippi were only received when Paul was unable to supply his own needs, these circumstances would in no way negate the 'boasts' he made in 1 Thess. 2:9 and 2 Thess. 3:9. When he was able, he set an example for his churches by his own labour and, at all times, he refused to burden them. Receiving 'emergency' support would not invalidate his boasts.

Therefore, it seems likely that as Paul wrote to the church at Philippi, he expressly thanked them for their support on numerous occasions. We have observed that it was only in times of imprisonment, or some other dangers, which ruled out Paul's opportunity to be self-supportive, that he allowed himself to receive financial aid from Philippi. Now that he was once again in the hands of local authorities, the Philippians had an "opportunity"⁹⁹ to relieve his needs. Otherwise Paul had maintained his practice of providing self-support in accordance with the principles he had explained to the Corinthian church in 1 Cor. 9:15-18.

2) During and After the Ephesian Imprisonment-

Apparently it is in the hardships which he encountered in Ephesus that his financial practices changed drastically. While he consistently attempted to supply his own support, he found his ministry to be receiving increased opposition. Thus his opportunities for self-support became increasingly infrequent. He needed to rely more and more on the gifts of others. We might not be too speculative if we understand that he probably accepted support from other churches beside Philippi.

In a work alluded to earlier, R. Jewett presents a chronology which attempts to deal with the interrelationship between Philippians and Philemon by asserting that

⁹⁹It is in this way that we understand the meaning of ἐφρονεῖτε
ἡ καρτεῖσθε δὲ in Phil. 4:10.

Paul was imprisoned not once, but twice in Ephesus.¹⁰⁰ While there is much to be applauded in Jewett's thesis, we do not intend to review his chronological scheme here. However, his assessment of Paul's Ephesian ministry deserves attention.

If we understand the imprisonment from which Paul wrote Philippians as occurring prior to the abortive 'painful visit' (2 Cor. 2:1) to Corinth, we have the possibility of a span of almost a full year when Paul met with intense persecution and disaster from many corners. This may already be reflected in 1 Cor. 4:9-13 since the *ὡς ἐπιθανάτους* may be referring to the same incident as is 2 Cor. 1:9 (*τὸ ἀπόκριμα τοῦ θανάτου*). The reference to "fighting with beasts at Ephesus", though likely metaphorical, does refer to some particular trials in Asia (Ephesus). We also have numerous accounts in 2 Corinthians (1:8-10; 4:8-12; 6:4-10; 11:23-27) which, to one degree or another, may be linked to an Asian or Ephesian persecution.

Therefore, from the time of his imprisonment in Ephesus, through his unsuccessful visit to Corinth, his return to Asia, and during his remaining time there, Paul apparently suffered various forms of persecution for the sake of the Gospel. Consequently, his chances for 'labouring night and day' for his own support would have

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Jewett, 104; also Duncan's thesis in St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry.

been considerably limited. He would need to rely on the love and generosity of his churches and, as 2 Cor. 11:8 and 12:13 suggest, a large number of the churches must have responded to Paul's need.

Yet, through all these difficulties, the Apostle apparently maintained the principle that he would work for his own support when and if he could. How else could we explain his words to the elders at Miletus in Acts 20:33-35, without doing unwarranted damage to the integrity of Paul or Acts?¹⁰¹

b) The Corinthian Perspective

The Corinthian situation was different. During the hardships which forced Paul to take support from other churches, he apparently received no support from Corinth. Prior to his 'letter of tears' (2 Cor. 2:4) the church

¹⁰¹One possible exception to our suggested solution involves Paul's admission in 2 Cor. 11:9 that he received aid when certain 'brethren' came to him from Macedonia. While the reference is quite vague, it seems credible that the Apostle Paul was referring to the coming to Corinth of Silas and Timothy (Acts 18:5). Not a few scholars have made this connection (Strachan, 22; Filson "The Second Epistle to the Corinthians", 396; Tasker, 151; et al).

We are not told how Paul's needs were met on this occasion. Possibly their arrival allowed Paul to engage in full-time preaching since they could continue the work of supporting the ministry. Or, another possibility, would envision the brothers sharing those funds which may have been left unspent during their journey from Macedonia to Corinth. Thus, the funds would have been given to the brothers, and only indirectly aided Paul.

However, it is most likely that there was indeed an exception to Paul's long standing principle involved here. Yet, the exception would not signal a full-break by Paul from his principles. It would constitute only a single exception and not a continuing practice. The fact was, that Paul would have shown less than his full love for the Philippians if he had refused their generous support, which had come with the 'brothers' only because of a technicality.

was in rebellion against him, and, as we have observed elsewhere, some factions in the church continued to rebel even after that letter had taken effect. This was, apparently, the one major church established by Paul from which Paul had received no support. Thus, it was also the one church in which Paul could maintain his principle of self-support consistently. This was the crux of the matter.

The view of Holmberg, which we alluded to earlier, that the Corinthians were the one exception to Paul's reception of funds from his churches,¹⁰² is probably correct; but not in the way Holmberg believes.

As Paul writes 2 Corinthians, he had moved away from whatever difficulties there were in Ephesus and had returned to Macedonia. We suspect that as soon as he was able, he would have returned to his practice of being self-supportive. Yet, as he wrote the epistle, the consistent principle which he had been able to maintain with regard to Corinth had actually been understood as an inconsistency in his relationship with them. This alleged inconsistency had left his practices and motives with regard to all his financial affairs, including the collection, open to question.

Possibly this is where the 1 Cor. 9:19-23 'missionary strategy' would be applicable to his principle of refusing support. In order not to damage a strong, loving relationship with Philippi, Paul does not consider it necessary to refuse the unexpected support.

¹⁰²Holmberg, 94.

This, apparently, contributed greatly to the Corinthian delay in collection participation.¹⁰³

In this regard, we can understand the emotionally charged statements of Paul in 2 Cor. 11:8 and 12:13ff. Paul had attempted to be thoroughly consistent with this church. But, between visits with them he was forced to accept some support during crisis situations (during which the Corinthians, who added to Paul's difficulties, probably did not offer any support). Apparently the Corinthians had learned of the financial support which Paul had received. Thus, when they learned that he continued to refuse their support, after having taken it from other churches, they suspected that his motives with regard to his relationship with them were less than honourable. This suspicion was naturally transferred to Paul's collection project. That this crisis had developed into a Corinthian objection to Paul's association with them in these financial matters is evidenced by the determination shown by the Apostle when he wrote that he would not allow Corinthian suspicion to abrogate his financial principles: *Ἡ ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησά ^{ἐμαυτὸν} ταπεινῶν ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑψώθητε ὅτι δωρεὰν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίον εὐαγγελίσασμεν ὑμῖν;* (2 Cor. 11:7).

Thus, Paul needed to defend the very nature of his apostleship since the Corinthians had determined that he had hopelessly fallen into inconsistency and outright contradiction in his policies in regard to their church.

¹⁰³Cf. Strachan, 35; Filson, 414; Tasker, 183.

His financial practices had become a major issue of controversy specifically because they suspected that he rejected their support in order to deceive them (12:16) and to gain for himself a larger sum of money from the collection than he ever could have expected to receive from accepting Corinthian support.

In actuality, however, Paul had remained consistent with them only because, at the time of his need, the Corinthian church had not come to his aid as had other churches. Paul was determined to maintain his policy with them, since they were the only church with which he could be thoroughly consistent with that policy.

c) Conclusion

We understand Paul's financial relationship with his churches to be a crucial issue in regard to the occasion and purpose of 2 Corinthians since within this issue, lie the factors which underlie the Corinthian objections to Paul's collection project, and, in effect, their objections to Paul as their Apostle.

Too many commentators have merely 'scratched the surface' on the issue without noticing the implications of their views. We have observed that the reasons which scholars have posed for Paul's refusal of Corinthian support are all credible, and, very likely, correct in their own regard. However, the difficulties arise when views such as those of Dungan and Holmberg are able to cast-off a trans-contextual principle applicable for all Pauline church situations, such as the 'ἀνάγκη' concept' and re-interpret them as merely situational in nature.

We do not agree that Paul's principle of "all things to all men" results in his becoming 'nothing consistent to anyone'. While there may be reasons for Paul's inability to engage in self-supportive activities on certain occasions during his ministry, his principle does not suffer. We understand Paul to have been as consistent in these financial policies as was humanly possible.

This harmonisation of Paul's financial policies with his stated principle of self-support, and restriction of his right to claim such support, are, as far as we know, distinct contributions of this study to these issues. We also believe we have shed some light as to the Corinthians' objections to Paul, on a level which involves his handling of his financial affairs with them, and its relationship to Corinthian delay in their willingness to participate in the collection.

It was the Corinthians' misunderstanding of Paul's financial policies which opened the way for them to oppose Paul on much the same level as the intruding 'false-apostles' were opposing him. Thus, he needed to provide the same answer to both opposing groups as to his right to continue as their Apostle, and, the more immediate question, his right to administer the collection without having his motives questioned.

Therefore, rather than the financial practices of Paul, and his collection for Jerusalem, appearing as a miscellaneous issue on the periphery of his 'apostolic defense' in chaps. 10-13, we understand these issues to

be the direct occasion for that defense. In the balance was the welfare of the Corinthian (and Macedonian) churches, their continued existence as churches 'in Christ', and the very integrity of Paul, himself, as an Apostle.

Chapter 5

"The Collection Chapters:
Their Context and Purpose in 2 Corinthians"

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Paul's Argumentative Purposes

As Paul wrote his so-called 'second' epistle to the Corinthians, it is evident that a number of suspicions, and opposition, remain within the church against his authority as an apostle. Specifically, his apparent inconsistency with regard to his travel plans and financial relationship with them had caused the church to doubt his intentions with regard to the collection project. Certainly they would be well within reason to suspect that his only purpose in attempting a reconciliation with them was to ensure their participation in that offering.

We have also suggested that the Corinthians' suspicions may have been echoed and developed by the intruding 'false-apostles' who also objected to Paul's administration of the collection, but for different reasons than the Corinthians.¹

Thus, in such a setting, the collection took on an unaccustomed significance. Because it represented a missionary endeavour which, on the one hand, was strongly advocated by Paul and, on the other hand, was strongly opposed by the intruders, therefore, the Corinthian decision on that issue would necessarily affect their

¹We can not be at all certain if the 'painful visit' confrontation was perpetuated by Corinthian outrage alone, or was aided by the intruding opposition who may have contributed a specific interpretation of Paul's 'inconsistent' and 'underhanded' methods; cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray 2 Corinthians Nashville (1971) 3, who understands that the collection may have been the central issue.

relationship with both groups and would indicate the apostolic claims they had decided to accept.

For Paul, then, he was faced with the following tasks as he wrote the epistle:

1) Commitment to the Collection-

a) We have already observed that Paul had placed great importance upon the completion of this project. The fund was well on its way to fulfilling its task of demonstrating Christian fraternal love and ecclesiastical unity.

b) From the evidence of Acts 20:4ff, we understand this third visit to Corinth also constituting Paul's last stop on his way to Jerusalem with the funds. Failure at Corinth would not necessarily mean failure for the funds as a whole, however, the symbols of brotherhood and unity would be damaged by Corinthian rejection of the collection.

2) Commitment to Corinth-

Paul needed to make it clear to the church that he was intensely interested in them for their own sake, and not just as a useful tool for his apostolic self-glorying. In 2 Cor. 1-2, he outlined the intimate relationship he yearned to have with them, and his anxiety about the events of their recent past.

It is apparent, however, that Paul viewed the Corinthian crisis as precipitated by the church's disobedience toward him as Christ's apostle (2:9). He tactfully reminded them that it was upon their renewed demonstration of obedience that the recent reconciliation

had been built (7:15). Thus, when he discussed the collection issue in chap. 8ff, it was upon a demand of, and confidence in, their ability and willingness to obey (7:16) that he called upon them to demonstrate that obedience toward the collection. Paul did this by terming the Corinthian response to the collection a 'test' (8:8) and a 'proof' (8:24) of their love. We also believe Paul detailed to the church the fact that non-participation (disobedience) toward this test would be met with discipline. In his concern for the church's welfare, he attempted to warn them concerning the consequences of their actions.

Therefore, part of Paul's task, as he wrote to them, was to assure the Corinthians of his love and concern for them and indicate that it was for their benefit that he insisted upon their participation in the collection.

3) Commitment to Other Churches-

a) As we will point out in our review of chapters 8-9, Paul had indicated to other churches (specifically Macedonia) that the Corinthians had been willing to participate. Apparently this 'boast' had inspired the Macedonians to participate as well.

However, as Paul indicated in 2 Cor. 9:4, both he and the Corinthians would be greatly ashamed if, after the Macedonians had given so faithfully, the Corinthians failed to participate. Of course, for Paul's part, this shame would be intensified since he might be determined to have been deceitful in regard to his misrepresentation of the Corinthian willingness to participate.

b) The 9:4 reference is not Paul's presentation of a hypothetical case. Apparently, the fact was that certain representatives of the Macedonian church were prepared to visit Corinth (possibly as part of the group mentioned as accompanying Paul in Acts 20:4). Thus, when Paul arrived in Corinth, he would be accompanied by representatives of a cross-section of the gentile church. It would not only be damaging to Paul's reputation in Corinth and Macedonia if the Corinthians failed to participate, the entire gentile church would be 'watching' through their representatives.

Therefore, Paul's continued leadership, and relationship, with the churches which he founded (or ^{which} were founded through his ministry) would be irreparably damaged if the collection project was rejected at Corinth.

4) Opposition-

We have described the opposition that Paul may have encountered from outside the church membership, and the possibility that they may have confronted Paul on the issue of the collection. In any case, it seems as if the intruders had seized upon the Corinthians' own misinformed views concerning what signs were characteristic of the apostle of God.²

² This had been an issue which confronted Paul from his very first exposure to the Corinthians. The first four chapters of 1 Corinthians seem to be prompted by these misconceptions. Paul's attitudes toward meat offered to idols, spiritual gifts, etc., also came into question since such attitudes required one who claimed to be 'free' in Christ to make certain restrictions in that freedom.

Apparently some charges of Pauline inconsistency and weakness had been confirmed by Paul himself through his difficulty with his travel plans and financial relationships. Seizing upon this Corinthian dissatisfaction with Paul, the opponents were able to condemn Paul's legitimacy as an apostle by confirming, in their own apostolic claims, those characteristics which the Corinthians had originally associated with that office.

Thus, Paul also needed to defend his own legitimacy in light of the claims made by his opposition. The Corinthians would not be well disposed to listen to his appeals for the collection if they were not satisfied that he had a legitimate right to make such appeals.

5) Conclusion-

We believe that it can be demonstrated, from the text of 2 Corinthians, that Paul had these particular tasks in mind as he addressed the church in this epistle. His ultimate concern was for the welfare of the Corinthian church. This welfare, however, depended upon their proper response to the collection, which in turn, depended upon Paul's successful presentation of the legitimacy both of the collection, and his apostolic status.

Simply stated, Paul's main purpose in 2 Corinthians was to motivate the Corinthians to participate in the collection for Jerusalem. Only with such a response would Paul have been successful in the accomplishment of all the tasks we have cited above.

It is our opinion that the so-called Second Epistle to the Corinthians can be understood clearly as a well-argued, and well-ordered, presentation of the need for Corinthian participation in the collection as an outward demonstration by the church of the reality of the recent reconciliation which had occurred between church and apostle. While it will be our purpose, in the remainder of the study, to demonstrate how the 'collection chapters' relate to the 'defense chapters' as a unitary consideration of the positive and negative aspects of Corinthian participation in the collection, we also wish to briefly present how the epistle's development of argument facilitates the accomplishment of the tasks we have enumerated above.

Paul's Explanation-His Role as Christ's Servant

The traditional description of the first seven chapters of 2 Corinthians usually focuses on the theme of Paul's words as being 'reconciliatory'. Yet, a more precise term might be that Paul provides an 'explanation' of his understanding of his dependency upon God as a servant of Christ, and an 'explanation' of the actions which that self-understanding had worked through him.

For it is the case that in these chapters Paul did seem to joyfully acknowledge the recent return of the church to him, but he also seemed to have desired to pass on from it to vindicate his own position in the crisis. It is not two equal parties who are restoring fellowship, but, rather, a disobedient and rebellious

church which had returned to its founder and apostle. There is no attempt on Paul's part to 'lord it over them', yet he considered it necessary to explain the motivations for his actions, and the fact that all he had done, and would continue to do, was in conjunction with what he believed was the will of God for him.

Taken as a whole, the first seven chapters have the dual effect of presenting a vindication and a declaration. While Paul related his past dealings with the church, he also 'took charge' of the Corinthian situation, and swept away all real or anticipated criticisms which remained.

Thus in 3:1 he needed to defend himself against the charges that he had engaged in self-glorying.³ Paul's response was not to deny that he did speak highly concerning his ministry and its accomplishments. But he stressed that he was able to make such assertions only insofar as the ministry had been empowered by God. With this type of response, Paul began a series of issues in which he

³M. Rissi (Studien Zum Zweiten Korintherbrief, 15) understands the church to have called for Paul to vindicate his apostolic claims by producing some miraculous signs. The demand in 3:1 then, would not be a challenge for him to produce such letters, but it called for Paul to "verkündigen sieh selbst" through a demonstration of the Spirit's power within him.

We understand Rissi's view as being possible, but not quite in line with Paul's force of argument here. Paul was concerned (as in 1 Cor. 9:2) that the Corinthians should understand that his work among them confirmed his apostleship in a more convincing way, than any letters from men.

highlighted the dependence of his ministry upon the work of God, and his role as solely being a servant of Christ. Thus, evidence of God's work through him should be self-revealing and, therefore should also speak for the legitimacy of the one through whom God worked. For these reasons Paul utterly rejected the Corinthian insistence that he display some form of letters of recommendation⁴ when the very existence of the Corinthian church stood as a testimony to the genuineness of his ministry.

Throughout the ensuing chapters, Paul had to reveal how he was intensely interested, above all else, in following the will of God, and therefore, he should be free from the slanderous criticism which he received from his opponents. Reflected in these seven chapters are criticisms concerning his honesty (4:2)⁵, the comprehensibility of his Gospel (4:3-6)⁶, and his

⁴For a discussion on the nature of these letters see; W. Baird "Letters of Recommendation: A Study of II Cor. 3:1-3" JBL 80 (6/61) 166-172; and a more general study: C. Keyes "The Greek Letter of Introduction" Am J Philology 56 (1935).

⁵D. W. Oostendorp (Another Jesus, 47) believes we have no option but to understand Paul's renunciation in this verse as a reflection of a charge by his opponents (the 'false-apostles'). For Oostendorp this is a necessary consequence of his particular viewpoint, but it is not demanded by the reference itself. It is the case that we must be aware of the other possibility that this 'charge' actually originates with Paul against his opponents; cf. D. Georgi (Die Gegner Des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief, 303) and Rissi, 44f.

⁶The use of *ἐἰ δὲ καὶ* might indicate that this was a reflection of an opponent's charge against Paul.

orientation with regard to heavenly and earthly pursuits (5:16).⁷

Consistent with his desire to re-assert his authority in Corinth, Paul demonstrated that in every phase of his relationship with them, he had been directed by the will of God. This he states directly in 5:14 (ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς), and indirectly in the many various titles he used to describe the relationship he, and his colleagues, had with God. These can be found throughout the epistle:

- 1) they were commissioned by God with his Spirit given to them as a guarantee (1:21, 22);
- 2) they are ministers of a new covenant (3:6);
- 3) their ministry was given to them by the mercy of God (4:1);
- 4) they became servants of the Corinthians for the sake of Jesus (4:5);
- 5) they were called ambassadors of Christ (5:20);
- 6) fellow-workers with God (6:1);
- 7) servants of God (6:4).

Paul also reminded the Corinthians that he continually depended upon God for every phase of his ministry:

Cf. Oostendorp, 48.

Paul's rebuttal focused on the fact that it was only among τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις (4:3) that his Gospel could be judged in such a way; cf. W. Schmithals The Office of the Apostle in the Early Church, 49, note 111.

⁷Cf. the views of W. Schmithals (Gnosis in Korinth, 287f) and E. Güttgemanns (Der leidende Apostel und Sein Herr) who believe 5:16 to be a gnostic gloss; contra Oostendorp, 55.

1) they relied upon him for deliverance (especially in the recent trouble in Asia) 1:9. This reliance gave Paul the assurance that the Lord was continually involved in his ministry;

2) this dependency extended even to such things as Paul's behaviour (1:12), and the making of travel plans (1:17).

Paul's own contribution to the ministry consisted in his speaking "in Christ" (2:17), delivering the letter of Christ (instead of a letter of recommendation 3:3), and persuading men (5:11) as God made his appeal through them for reconciliation (5:20).

In the course of his ministry Paul had to endure many afflictions (1:8; 4:8-12; 6:4-10) but he took great joy in these (7:4) because he knew the comfort available through God, and that such afflictions made him able to graphically portray the nature of the death of Jesus (4:11).⁸

Throughout, Paul wanted the church to **be aware that** he was not commending himself (except as a servant of God, 6:4). He continually gave credit to the empowering grace of the Lord which produced 'fruit' through his ministry (3:5-6; 4:5; 4:7).

Finally, the Apostle stated the reasons why he provided such an explanation to the Corinthians. He

⁸Cf. R. C. Tannehill (Dying and Rising With Christ, Berlin: 1967, 89): "Thus Paul's participation in Christ's death through suffering maintains and affirms his past death with Christ and so enables Paul to receive the new life which comes from God"; cf. Schmithals (Office of Apostle, 47): "The suffering of the apostle is the negative presupposition for the success of his preaching."

understood his presentation to be useful in equipping the church with ready answers to those who would question his office and authority (5:12). Thus, he challenges them in 6:13-7:2 to 'open their hearts' to his ministry. He implies that he wishes them to separate themselves from the opponents who were troubling them.⁹

⁹We understand 6:14-7:1 to be a very personal appeal by Paul to the Corinthians to separate themselves from the intruders among them. This is the natural conclusion to his remarks contained in the 'great digression', and, we believe, our view provides the only natural interpretation to the section in its context. Paul established his own graphic portrayal of the gulf which existed between his ministry and that of the intruders. He appeals to the Corinthians to separate from them (6:14; 7:1), to return to their spiritual father (6:18; cf. 12:14f), and to be open to his authority (6:13; 7:2).

We are aware of the many competing interpretations of this section, but we believe most of them abandon the immediate context in order to promote some quite fanciful speculations. For a discussion of the issues involved, and some widely divergent interpretations; the following works might be consulted: R. Silby Toward an Understanding of St. Paul New York; 1900, 210 (the section is a fragment of the 'initial letter', 1 Cor. 5:9-11); J. A. Fitzmyer "Qumran and the Interpolated Passage in 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1" CBQ (3/61) 271-280; Fitzmyer and J. Gnilka "2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 in Light of the Qumran Texts and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" Paul and Qumran (ed. J. M. O'Conner) Chicago; 1968, 48-68; H. D. Betz "II Cor. 6:14-7:1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?" JBL 92 (3/73) 88-108; G. D. Fee "2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 and Food Offered to Idols" NTS 23(1976)142-43; J.D.M. Derrett "2 Cor. 6:14ff. A Midrash on Dt. 22:10" Biblica 59 2(1978) 231-250; D. Rensberger "2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1 -A Fresh Examination Studia Biblica et Theologica Viii 2 (10/78) 25-49.

Rensberger's view is closer to our own in his regard for the integrity of the context. Derrett relates Paul's exhortations here to the appeals he made later concerning the collection. Paul, apparently, was attempting to remind the Corinthians that they were partners with him in the Gospel and, therefore, were required to have an attitude of 'frankness' with him. In such a way, Derrett believes, Paul attempted to motivate the Corinthians to participate in the collection.

While we would be attracted to Derrett's position we must admit that the reference does not in any way demand such a view. We believe Paul was attempting to illustrate

Thus Paul explained and justified his role in the relationship he had with the Corinthians. He vindicated his ministry from any wrongdoing (6:3-4) and revealed the true motivation for the actions which he had performed among them. The arguments stand as a 'surrogate' presence for him, allowing him to argue against his opponents while he remained absent from the scene.

The Great Digression

Within these first seven chapters a much noticed, but less understood digression occurs in the midst of Paul's recollection of his search for, and subsequent meeting with, Titus. J. T. Dean, in his study of this section, 2:14-7:4, has termed it the 'Great Digression'.¹⁰

A consideration of this digression necessarily involves us in the precarious area of speculating why Paul would abruptly halt his re-telling of the meeting with Titus, and leave the story unfinished until a considerable time later. P. E. Hughes is characteristic of most commentators who understand the digression as an intrusion into that 'Titus story'. He believes Paul to have been so overwhelmed by the grace of God, as evidenced in the reconciliation of the Corinthian church to him, that he needed to pause and express his joy and praise.¹¹

the fact that the intruders and their teachings are polar opposites from the gospel in which the Corinthians had been established. Paul's wish is for the church to separate themselves from these intruders and to 'open their hearts' to him.

¹⁰J. T. Dean "The Great Digression: 2 Cor. 2:14-7:4" ET 50 (1938-39) 86-89.

¹¹P. E. Hughes Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians Grand Rapids; 1962, 77.

However, as we have suggested, the first seven chapters of the epistle are involved with Paul's explanation of his actions as the outworking of his dependency upon God. What is interesting to note is the fact that this theme is not interrupted by the digression.

It is our belief that Paul's recollection of the recent crisis with Corinth in 2:1-14 (including the 'letter of tears', the offensive individual, and the search for Titus) which, while being a natural progression from his explanation of the change of travel plans (1:15ff), was, nevertheless, an intrusion into Paul's explanation motif which focused on his dependency upon God. Rather than understanding a 'great digression' to have occurred at 2:14-7:4, we understand 2:1-14 as being a small digression in this explanatory material.¹²

Apparently Paul realised that he had progressed 'ahead of himself' in introducing the 'Titus story'.¹³

¹²The issues relating to the comfort available through God, which hold a prominent thematic place prior to the 'great' digression' re-occur throughout that digression (esp. 5: 1-10); cf. P. T. O'Brien Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul Leiden: 1977, 254-57; G. P. Wiles Paul's Intercessory Prayers Cambridge; 1974; Tannehill, 90ff.

¹³It is impossible to know with certainty just what motivated Paul to begin his recollection of the 'Titus story' so early in the epistle. As we suggested he may have only naturally progressed to it from a consideration of the 'painful visit', etc. However, might his digression also reveal an anxiousness on his part to discuss the collection issue? For we notice that once Titus is re-introduced in 7:5ff, Paul wasted no time in beginning his collection appeals. Possibly we have an inadvertent indication that the collection issue, with its surrounding circumstances and threatened consequences, might have weighed heavily on his mind while he 'wrote'.

Such a strategy reveals to us a situation where some reconciliation had occurred, but it seems that Paul still felt it necessary to include in this letter, a major amount of explanatory material to aid in the completion of the reconciliatory process.

Therefore, when Paul picked-up the 'Titus story' again, he did so in order to complete his theme of confidence and dependence upon God. The story also provides an effective bridge from the 'old business' to the outstanding issue in their relationship: the need for them to express their obedience through participation in the collection.

Thus, as Paul enters into a discussion of that issue, he does so with confidence that he had established himself as a true servant of God, one who was faithful to his calling. This placed the Corinthians into a situation where they needed to be ready, and willing, to follow his instructions, since they were instructions which did not originate only from Paul, but they originated as an expression of God's will as well.

The Collection Chapters - 2 Cor. 8-9

For the purpose of this study we need to carefully analyse Paul's approach to the collection issue in these, the two most informative chapters on the offering contained in the Pauline corpus. Our interest is to understand Paul's argumentative structure in these chapters as a guide to a determination of his purposes and desires with respect to the collection issue in Corinth, and in his other churches generally.

The Example of the Macedonians

Paul introduces the collection issue with the example of the Macedonians. This example is calculated to motivate the Corinthians to quickly begin anew their own collection project. In a real way, the Apostle appealed to their civic pride.¹⁴

In relating his experience with the Macedonians, Paul used such intensive terms in an emotional, 'overflowing', style that the genuineness of his surprise and joy at their participation comes through clearly.¹⁵ He also

¹⁴ Cf. R. J. Austgen (Natural Motivation in the Pauline Epistles Notre Dame; 1966, 87) who understands the use of such terms as χάρις κοινωνία διακονία to have had foundations in Greek social thought which Paul used to challenge the Corinthians' sense of loyalty and pride.

Austgen (84) and Beasley-Murray (Second Corinthians, 60) believe this challenge would be quite pointed since it seems likely that the Macedonian churches were financially poor relative to the church at Corinth (contra Dungan, 22). It is Dungan's view that Paul may actually have picked Philippi as his first European missionary centre specifically because he believed a church planted there would be well able to financially support him in his further Macedonian and Achaian ministries.

Yet Dungan's view seems hardly credible given the nature of the economic strife that imperiled the Macedonian region prior to Paul's missionary endeavours there. It appears that the Roman government exercised tight economic controls on imports to Philippi (Livy, XLV. 30; cf. Austgen, 84) as well as having siezed control of the local gold and silver mines (Strabo, vii. Frag. 35; cf. Austgen, 84). We can also observe the number of references to persecutions experienced by the churches in that region, which may have depleted much of the church's financial resources (Acts 16:19f; 17:5f; 1 Thess. 1:6; 2:14; 3:2-4; 2 Thess. 1:4-7; Phil. 1:28-30).

¹⁵ The intensity of Paul's emotion can be observed in v. 2 where the intensive modifiers πολλῇ περισσειᾷ βάθος and πλούτος are found. Further, he described their giving not only as κατὰ δύναμιν but as παρὰ δύναμιν (παρὰ is found in this comparative usage in Lk. 3:13; 13:2, 4; Ro. 14:5; Hb. 2:7, 9; 9:23; 12:24). This emphasises the fact that the Macedonian gift was a sacrificial gift and not just one given from a sense of obligation.

mentioned that the Macedonian action was spontaneous (ἀνθαίρετοι , v. 3).¹⁶ The inclusion of this term removes suspicion on the part of the Corinthians that such a 'poor' church would need great prompting (or possibly coercion) to give to the offering in the manner Paul was indicating.

Whether the Macedonian spontaneity occurred in their attitude of willingness, or in their actual participation in the fund, their example is held out to the Corinthians as a worthy model to emulate. The Macedonian action was also described as a giving of themselves (ἑαυτοὺς ἔδωκαν),¹⁷ something the Apostle wanted to inspire among the Corinthians.¹⁸

¹⁶The term modifies δεόμαι , but Paul probably also means to show how spontaneous their giving was παρὰ δύναμιν .

¹⁷It should be noticed that the only occasion in which financial matters are specifically discussed was in relation to the poverty of the Macedonians. Paul refuses to focus on the amount of money collected, or even on the fact that money was involved at all. It is the way in which the church responded to the opportunity to participate in the offering which has overwhelmed the Apostle. It is this example which Paul presents to the Corinthians as the attitude he wishes to see in their participation, and the reason why he sent Titus to Corinth again. Thus, when one considers Paul's anxiety as he approaches the third Corinthian visit, we certainly are impressed by the fact that Paul is primarily seeking a proper attitude in the Corinthian participation, and he did not at all seem to be concerned with what the final amount of the gift would be.

¹⁸Cf. 2 Cor. 12:14: οὐ γὰρ ζητῶ τὰ ὑμῶν ἄλλὰ ὑμᾶς... . Paul reveals that the objects, to which the Macedonians gave of themselves, had the correct order of priorities (πρῶτον τῷ κυρίῳ), while there was also a dimension of the giving which, as a proper expression of the will of God, was directed toward Paul and his company (καὶ ἡμῶν διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ).

Paul's words were calculated to focus on the Macedonian example of 'giving' which he wanted the Corinthians to imitate in action as well as attitude and direction.¹⁹

The Role of Titus

It is highly significant that the re-introduction of Titus occurs as a purpose clause which stands as the conclusion to Paul's opening sentence of the chapter (vv. 1-6). Thus, it demonstrates that the intent of the introductory remarks were to provide an explanation of the return of Titus to Corinth.²⁰

¹⁹ The apostle clearly emphasized that his own role in the collection ministry was also part of God's will. This factor was presented lest the Corinthians' own personal feelings toward him continued to cause them to regard the collection as a Pauline project only, for which there would be no accompanying consequences should they refuse to follow his appeals. Placing the offering within the will of God caused the Corinthians to realize the seriousness of the project; cf. R. Austgen, 88: "Paul's method is bold, but the tack and approach reveal an astonishing knowledge of group psychology. Five verses of historical event, every phrase a goad that can be plunged home, demanding imitation."

²⁰ The exact time when Titus had 'made a beginning' with the Corinthians is debateable. Paul could well have referred to the mission from which Titus had just returned (so J. Bernard The Second Epistle to the Corinthians, London, 1903, 86). A. Plummer (A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, 78) rejects this, however, in favour of the view that Paul is referring to an earlier visit, possibly involving Titus as the courier of the "First" epistle in which the collection was first introduced.

However, we are inclined to agree with Bernard here, since Paul's remarks are only associated with the collection by nature of the context which speaks of Titus 'completing the gracious work' (v. 6; it should be noticed that while the term *χάριν* is directly linked to *ἐπιτελέσῃ* (presumably referring to the collection; cf. v. 4), the term *προενηργάτο* is not similarly linked).

Therefore, in one complete thought (vv. 1-6), the Apostle has tactfully challenged the Corinthians to observe the example of the Macedonians in the collection, and to prepare themselves to, likewise, participate. Yet, he also mentioned that he was sending to them a trusted friend who would work with them in the administration of the offering.²¹

The Corinthians Abundance

In contrasting the Macedonian situation with that of the Corinthians, Paul focused on a number of areas in which the Corinthian church had an abundance: πίστει, λόγῳ, γνώσει, πάσῃ σπουδῇ τῇ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν 22 ἀγάπῃ.²³ He challenged them with the concept that the express purpose for which this abundance had been given to them was for it to be used: ἐν^{εἰς} ἔργον ἀγαθόν (referring to the collection).²⁴

^{εἰς}
Paul could well mean that, because Titus had just recently been well received by the church, and had accomplished a most difficult mission among them, Paul believed Titus would be the perfect representative to be sent to Corinth on this occasion also.

²¹Cf. R. Austgen, 86: "There is a definite note of challenge running through vv. 1-6".

²²The variant ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν had wide circulation in the early church and has a wide geographical distribution of witnesses. Owing to our interpretation of the term's function in the sentence, we cautiously accept the UBS decision (A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament ed. B. M. Metzger; 3 ed. 581.)

²³We should notice how calculated this statement was in Paul's relationship to Corinth. The list of elements nowhere included any financial or material elements. They were all of an intellectual or moral/ethical nature. From what is known about the Corinthian attitude toward such things (as reflected throughout 1 Corinthians) the church would have quickly assented to Paul's description of their assets.

²⁴Cf. 2 Cor. 9:11ff.

Yet, Paul cautiously denied that he was commanding them to participate in the offering. Instead, he understood it to be an opportunity for them, in light of the Macedonians' example, to prove their earnestness (8:8). We assert, however, if Paul's words do not constitute a command, they certainly seem to constitute, at least, a demand.²⁵ Given the attributes listed in v. 7, the Apostle had left the church little option concerning how to respond. If they failed to participate, or if they participated in a 'half-hearted' way, they would necessarily reveal themselves to lack the elements contained in Paul's description. Only by a full and willing participation could they live up to the Apostle's praise of their abundance.²⁶

²⁵A number of commentators have noticed the lack of conviction in Paul's denial that he did not command them to participate: M. J. Harris "2 Corinthians" The Expositor's Bible Commentary (V. 10), Grand Rapids, 1976, 368; W. Franklin Die Kollekte des Paulus, 53; B. Holmberg Paul and Power, 41; G. S. Duncan St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, 233ff; L. Hurtado "The Jerusalem Collection and the Book of Galatians" JSNT 5(1979) 48.

²⁶The pressure on the church is certainly increased if one other factor is considered. Rather than being a group of ad hoc elements listed by Paul to 'puff-up' the church (who were already well known for their self-assurance), might the Apostle's list reflect certain attributes which the church claimed for itself? The 'spiritual-minded' nature of the elements certainly remind one of other Corinthian claims found elsewhere in the correspondence. This might well be another case of Paul's redirection of such claims or 'slogans' toward his own purposes (which is a common Pauline tactic in 1 Corinthians).

The Example of Christ

The example of the grace of Jesus in v. 9²⁷ is directly related to what Paul had said concerning the Corinthian abundance and their participation in a form of grace (i.e., the collection).²⁸

Purpose of the Three Challenges

In the passages we have considered thus far, we observe that the Apostle has directly challenged the Corinthians on at least three different levels: 1) Their civic pride; 2) their self-understanding; 3) their relationship to Christ. Each of these challenges forces the Corinthians to come to grips with the fact that failure to participate in the collection endangered their standing on each of these levels.

Yet while he challenged them with these remarks, Paul did so without threat or warning.²⁹ He had been completely positive in his approach. He assumes the reality of the three relationships cited above and presented the collection as the logical outcome of those relationships.

²⁷ An important factor to notice is the effective use of personal pronouns (placed in the emphatic position) with which Paul emphasized the personal work of Christ for the Corinthians (Cf. F. B. Craddock "The Poverty of Christ: An Investigation of II Corinthians 8:9" Interp. 22 (4/68) 166; W. P. DeBoer The Imitation of Paul: An Exegetical Study Kampen; 1962, 62). He revealed their responsibility in light of that work. The example used by Paul to challenge them is not just a theological proposition to support his appeals, but a personal appeal based on the personal relationship the Corinthians were to have with Christ.

²⁸ Cf. Craddock, 169.

²⁹ There is no unanimity among scholars as to how resolved the former rebellion was at the time of Paul's collection

His arguments were designed to show the church that completion of this project would actually become beneficial to them. He cited the fact that they were aware that their delay had been a somewhat lengthy one.³⁰ In his description of the Macedonian participation, he had mentioned just how highly he had regarded the willingness of those churches to give of themselves to the collection. Likewise, he did not want the Corinthians to receive the impression that he had forgotten how willing they had once been for this same project. His focus remained on their former willingness and the beneficial results

appeals. Plummer is of the opinion that the very appeal itself indicates Paul's confidence that full restoration had been achieved. Paul's only remaining anxiety, Plummer believed, lay in the Apostle's belief that the Corinthians were notoriously less than generous contributors (Plummer, 230).

However, we agree with Austgen's assessment when he describes the atmosphere between the Apostle and the church as, ". . . a climate of resentment, hurt feelings and rancor . . ." (Austgen, 82). This is the reason for Paul's elaborate argumentation exhorting their proper participation. It was also the occasion for his extraordinary dispatch of three emissaries to insure the proper handling of the collection itself.

³⁰ On the order of the Corinthians' former response to the collection, Paul curiously writes, *οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὸ ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θέλουν προενήρξασθε*. It would appear that the church had the dual dimension of 'action' plus proper 'attitude' in that former response.

Both Tasker (122) and Harris (372) understand, in Paul's emphasis of these two dimensions, the fact that the Corinthians had a 'double priority' over the Macedonians at one time. Certainly this is one of the points Paul wanted to emphasize as he recalled the former Corinthian enthusiasm and he challenges them to manifest the same attitude once again.

which completion of that original attitude would bring to them. He did not refer to the past difficulties between them which forced an interruption in the fund's progress.³¹

Paul equated the concept of 'willingness' with his earlier exhortations concerning the Corinthian need to prove their genuineness. In other words, the Corinthians were to reflect their abundance (on the intellectual/moral level here; on the financial level later, 9:5, 8), and their willingness, in a tangible way, by participating in proportion to the abundance they had received.

Equality

In v. 13 Paul attempted to explain that he was not engaged in relieving the suffering of one church at the expense of the Corinthian church's welfare. Possibly he was reacting to an objection, real or anticipated, from some church members that he was not concerned with

³¹What appears as an awkward placement of the Corinthians' attitude, *ποὶ ᾗσαι . . . θέλειν* might actually reflect the truth of their first relationship to the collection.

Barrett is of the opinion that 1 Cor. 16 reveals that the Corinthians were always willing to participate, since he understands Paul be to answering a Corinthian enquiry about their role in the project, there (Barrett, Second Corinthians, 225).

Yet, if they were originally willing to participate, but lacked only instructions as to how to proceed, it is strange that Paul expressed himself as he did here. Perhaps the fact was that the instructions preceded the Corinthian willingness to give themselves to the fund. This willingness, however, quickly wavered when the break in relations occurred. According to our own view of the 1 Corinthians situation, that break in relations had already started as Paul wrote the 'first' epistle.

them at all (2 Cor. 11:11) except as they were useful to his purposes with regard to Jerusalem. His Jewish heritage, which he was not opposed to discussing (11:22), may have added to the weight of their suspicions.

Accordingly Paul presented the principle of *ἰσότης* in v. 14. His rationale seems to have rested upon the mutual dependence of the entire Church upon each of its members.³²

The Apostle seems to have had in mind a certain abundance which one member-church was able to supply to another member-church within the 'Body of Christ'. In the case of Corinth and Jerusalem he appears to have a material/spiritual exchange in mind. This concept is echoed in his words to the church at Rome concerning the Jewish-gentile relationship, and the collection (Ro. 15:26).³³

³² The Old Testament illustration used by the Apostle (Ex. 16:18) does not serve to clarify the concept directly. Both Menzies (The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 57) and Strachan (The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 133) seem somewhat perplexed at Paul's choice of illustration.

The equality portrayed in the illustration was not one reached by a re-distribution of wealth, as Paul's intention in the context seemed to present. Rather, it was forced upon the Israelites who, miraculously, were able to gather no more than an omerful of manna per day (with a double portion on the day prior to the Sabbath).

Barrett (227; cf. Austgen, 91) believes that it was not Paul's intention to use the reference here to authorise one of his directives, but he wanted to simply illustrate a situation which revealed God's desires for unity and equality among his people.

³³ contra Plummer (247) who expressly denies any association between the Ro. 15 passage and Paul's words here.

Through all the discussion³⁴ on the exact meaning of Paul's 'exchange' here, perhaps it is only the simple concept of divinely-instituted equalisation which is meant. This equalisation would cover the circumstances between Corinth and Jerusalem in which a spiritual/material exchange took place, and it might also have a long-range application which would include strict financial aid from one church to another if the need arose.

Letter of Recommendation

The remainder of the chapter has been described as a 'letter of recommendation' by a number of scholars.³⁵ Such a description has led some of these men into belief that chapter 8 may have originally existed as a separate, self-contained letter. It would have served as an explanation for Titus' return to Corinth and would have been an introduction for the men who accompanied Titus on the new mission.³⁶

³⁴Tasker (122) and Harris (368) favour the concept that financial assistance (both present and future) is all that was involved here. Lenski (The Interpretation of St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians, Minneapolis; 1937, 1145) however, favours the financial/spiritual exchange. He understands Paul's argument to be appealing for the exchange of the abundance of each church toward the removal of each other's needs.

³⁵Cf. Harris (372); D. Georgi Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem, 58) who calls the chapter the "Empfehlungsbrief"; K. Nickle The Collection 20, et al.

³⁶Those who hold this view usually also understand chapter 9 to be a separate letter (or fragment thereof).

It has been noticed that this section of the chapter contains several elements similar to contemporary Hellenistic letters of recommendation.³⁷ However, given the purposes for which Paul wrote the epistle, a section set aside to introduce and recommend these representatives would not be unexpected. Such a recommendation expressed the official nature of the mission and its connection to the ministry of Paul. Paul's personal authorization allows them to properly begin their ministry in Corinth as his representatives who provide for him a 'presence' in the city.

The Purpose of Sending the Brothers

The debate over the exact identification of the brothers who accompany Titus to Corinth has been a futile one. We have no indication of who these men were³⁸, nor

³⁷Cf. W. Baird "Letters of Recommendation" JBL 80 (6/61) 166-172.

³⁸Surely one of the most frustrating factors connected with the identification of these men is the absence of their names. Georgi (57) is of the opinion that the names were originally part of the text but were later removed by a redactor. Supporting this view also are Héring (The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians tr. A. W. Heathcote, P. J. Allcock, London; 1967, 62) and Nickle (20) who both conjecture that the names were deleted because these men were later involved in some painful situation (possibly related to this very mission).

Barrett proposes the view first introduced by Robertson (Barrett, 227) which understands the article in the construction τὸν ἀδελφόν to be a possessive pronoun. Thus, 'the brother' would become 'Titus' brother' and the need for his name would possibly be reduced by the Corinthians' familiarity with him through their association with Titus. However, there does not appear to be much evidence to commend this idea. In any case, this view provides no satisfactory solution to the problem of why the other brother remained unnamed.

from what part of the church they originate (geographically or racially).³⁹ While Paul reveals that at least one of these individuals was well-known (v. 18),⁴⁰ the Apostle only identifies them vaguely as ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν (v.23).⁴¹

It would not be constructive for us to engage in a review of the debate here. However, we need to look at the function of the brothers' mission as related to Paul's overall Corinthian collection strategy.

By his recommendations of these brothers, Paul revealed his intention to remain completely free from any suspicion in the collection's administration. Whether he was responding to certain criticisms which had been made against him or was anticipating charges about his handling of the collection, he seemed intent on

Possibly it is Plummer who has a more adequate answer when he offers the explanation that, since the brothers would be present at the delivery of the letter, it would be Titus' task to introduce them (Plummer, 252). The fact that one of the brothers was already well-known (v. 18), while the other was a newcomer to Corinth, greatly reduced the need for distinguishing between the two before their arrival.

³⁹Cf. Acts 20:4 which seems to indicate that on his final visit to Corinth, Paul was accompanied by many representatives from various churches involved in the collection project. The 'brothers' may have been among this group and Paul may have been distinguishing the Macedonian members of the company in order to incite a spirit of competition among the Corinthians; contra Nickle (19-20) who denies that the 'brothers' could have been Macedonians.

⁴⁰Cf. E. Schweizer Church Order in the New Testament (tr. Frank Clarke), London; 1961, 7m.

⁴¹Their identification as 'apostles of the churches' is not very revealing. Yet it does point up the fact that Paul recommends these men as official 'agents' of the churches (undefined) and not just representatives under his direction.

avoiding criticism if he could.⁴² To do so, he needed to remain absent from Corinth during the initial stages of the gathering procedure. He spoke directly to this issue at 9:5. The extreme caution which apparently characterized Paul's approach to this issue, and to his financial relationship with Corinth, reveals the fact that these issues were particular sore points in the Paul/Corinth relations of the past.

Under these circumstances, we can appreciate why Paul delayed his visit to Corinth until the collection could be made ready. His strategy to send representatives in his place becomes clearer, and this epistle, sent as a 'surrogate presence' for him, provided the proper guard against a recurrence of anti-Paul feelings. It also provided just enough pressure on the church to let them know that they were held accountable for their actions in regard to the collection.

Thus, Paul ends the chapter with a formal recommendation of his representative, Titus, and the churches' representatives, the brothers. In an appeal for these men, it should be noticed that he did not ask the Corinthians to receive them as they would receive him. Instead, he

⁴²It is Georgi (Die Geschichte der Kollecte, 45) who attempts to construct the charge which he believes to be at the heart of Paul's cautious attitude here. He writes that the Corinthians understood Paul to have been maneuvering their church into a position which would provide for himself a greater financial benefit from them than he would have received had he accepted normal apostolic support.

motivates them to receive the brothers as agents of 'the churches'. Thus, the men should be graciously received since the Church, as a whole, would be an interested observer of their behaviour.

The Call For Proof

With v. 24 and Paul's call for the Corinthians to 'prove their love' before the churches, the Apostle transformed what was a localised struggle of wills in Corinth, into a major confrontation which held significance both for the future well-being of the Corinth church and for the ministry of Paul as an apostle.⁴³ This call for proof amounted to nothing less than a 'test' of the Corinthian church foundation. If they had been properly established upon the gospel of Christ, they would have had little difficulty in deciding how to perform. However, their failure in this 'test' would reveal the weakness of that foundation and the ineffectiveness of its builder (cf. 1 Cor. 3:10-15).

Therefore the collection stood as a 'test' not only of the Corinthians' earnestness (8:8) and love (8:24), but also of their reconciliation to Paul and their recognition of the legitimacy of his authority as Christ's apostle. It afforded the church the opportunity to give demonstrable evidence of their relationship to Christ, their relationship to sister churches, and their relationship to their apostle.

"

⁴³Cf. L. Hurtado (49): "In this church where his authority had been contested, participation in the collection would be a test case of the Corinthian church's reform and would reflect upon Paul as well as them."

Paul's challenges culminate in this test. The course of the Corinthian church, and Paul's own effectiveness as an apostle, were intimately related to the Corinthians' response to the collection project.

2 Corinthians 9

A Seperate Epistle?

M. Harris asserts that it was J. S. Semler, some two hundred years ago (1776), who may have been the first scholar to notice that chapter 9 appeared to be a self-contained letter.⁴⁴ Yet, the practice of dividing both chapters 8 and 9 from the text of the first seven chapters (and, occasionally, from one another) has been a more recent development.

The occurrence of two consecutive chapters relating to the same subject, the somewhat formalised conclusion of chapter 8, and the 'introductory' clause which opened chapter 9, have all led scholars to question the relationship of these pieces of text. Many have sensed that, at least, a gap of time must be involved between the composing of the chapters and, possibly, they were sent to Corinth independently.⁴⁵

⁴⁴M. Harris (306); cf. G. Wiles Paul's Introductory Prayers, 234.

⁴⁵Illustrative of a scholar dissatisfied with the traditional textual relationship of the chapters is K. Nickle. He believes the opening statement of the chapter to be raising the subject of the collection in such a way that it implies the readers are hearing of the fund for the first time. Since we know this is not the situation assumed by the present order, Nickle understands that an artificial

However, many of these arguments appear to be less than convincing for the radical conclusion that one or more of these chapters should be isolated as originating separately from the context. It may only be the pre-disposition of many critics who, already open to the partition of chaps. 10-13 from the epistle, feel justified in attempting to further retrace the work of a redactor.⁴⁶

It appears that a major consideration as to the solution of the chapter linkage problem involves one's understanding of the force of Paul's statement that it was *περὶ σοῦ* for him to discuss the collection issue with the church (9:1).

linkage between the chapters has occurred. He remains open to the possibility of a lengthy dictation pause between chapters, but is more receptive to the view that the chapters originally existed as independent letters (17, note 17).

Georgi (Die Geschichte der Kollekte, 56) believes that neither chapter was originally part of what he calls the "Versöhnungsbrief" (chaps. 1-7). His view rests on the understanding that each chapter presupposes different situations. In chap. 8 Paul calls for the reopening of the collection, while chap. 9, he believes, contains Paul's appeal for them to finish the collection (57-58).

Hering (65) reverses the order of the chapters, believing chap. 9 to have been written earlier than chap. 8. But Nickle disagrees (57) and understands chap. 9 to be a subsequent communication from Paul who had become anxious about the church's response to his own ministry.

⁴⁶Of those supporting the integrity of the present contextual relationship of the chapters, Plummer (252), Menzies (65) and Tasker (123), among others, believe an unfortunate chapter division has been made here. They argue that Paul continued his discussion concerning the delegates he had sent to Corinth.

Although not mentioning the chapter division explicitly, Barrett Second Corinthians (232), Beasley-Murray (61) and Harris (374) understand the beginning of the ninth chapter

The 'Superfluousness' of 2 Cor. 9:1-5

There seems to be some measure of an apology in this section. We believe Paul wanted the church to know that he had confidence in them. Also, he did not want them to get the impression that the coming of the 'brothers' would serve to displace the credit which should go to them for their original enthusiasm in supporting the collection. Paul was trying to stay in command of the situation, while not pressing too hard on sensitive feelings.⁴⁷

Paul asserted his knowledge that the Corinthians had been, and hopefully are now, in a state of readiness (*προθυμίαν*). This was also the content of his boast to the Macedonians which, presumably, generated their enthusiasm for the project as well.⁴⁸

to be a natural continuation of the thought and circumstances of chapter 8. It is Barrett's contention that the chapter division is not as sharp as some would maintain. He understands the two chapters to be dealing with the same subject, but without being repetitive.

⁴⁷J. Price ("Aspects of Paul's Theology and Their Bearing on Literary Problems of 2 Corinthians" Studies and Documents XXIV (1967) 101) traces Paul's awkwardness in the first few verses of the chapter to his proud nature which "hated asking for money".

⁴⁸In an analysis of the term *προθυμίαν*, K. H. Rengstorff (TDNT VI, 699) emphasises the fact that the terms' Hebrew equivalent (לִטְוָה) has some association with an attitude of 'readiness' in regard to a voluntary offering. This readiness is one "... which is the result of conversion and which is characterised by a willing and cheerful treading of the divine path entered upon at conversion".

These added characteristics of 'cheerfulness' and 'zeal' to follow the will of God may very well have been part of Paul's expectation of the Corinthian response for which he exhorts them in these two chapters.

It seems that Paul was only stating a simple disclaimer so as not to offend Corinthian sensitivities by seeming to forget how 'ready' they once had been. Possibly, their early enthusiasm was associated with their more recent conversion relative to the time Paul first introduced them to the collection project.⁴⁹ Yet now, with the passage of time, they have apparently lost this motivation to participate. The troubled relations between the church and their Apostle did not contribute to a maintenance of that original 'readiness'.

Paul's Anxiety and Corinthian 'Readiness'

The Apostle was a bit anxious that the fund be in a state of 'readiness' (not just the fund but the church members as well) before he came with the representatives from Macedonia.

If Paul had not written this epistle, and thus, delayed his arrival in Corinth, these representatives would have discovered a church which was disorganised and, possibly, hesitant in submitting themselves to the ministry of the offering, and to their apostle. If there

Yet Rengstorf criticises Paul's expression in 9:1 as clumsy and difficult. He believes the Apostle is attempting to insist on their participation in the collection while, at the same time, he tried not to leave the impression that they were being compelled to participate. The best Paul could hope for, Rengstorf asserts, was for the Corinthians to view the collection as a "consciously accepted obligation" (699).

We agree that this is precisely the purpose which Paul was attempting to convey in these opening verses. As for the awkwardness, this factor only serves to point out the difficulty of the art of diplomacy.

⁴⁹Cf. Rengstorf's view of *προθυμίαν*, above.

had been any gathering of the fund formerly (1 Cor. 16), the interval of rebellion would have interrupted the church's scheduled contributions. The Macedonians would have indeed found it difficult to believe that there had ever been any true enthusiasm for the project in Corinth.

Therefore, Paul's 'boast' would have proven to have been unfounded and the suspicion might have arisen as to whether it had ever been accurate.⁵⁰

The sending of the brothers, therefore, is to insure that the boast of Paul would not be discredited. As indicated earlier, their presence had the effect of encouraging the reopening of the project, while they also brought a bit of organisation and authority to the collection procedure.

Concerning the exact goal of the brothers' mission, it should be remembered just what the 'boast' of Paul included. He had not boasted that the Corinthians would have completed their part of the collection before he arrived. On the contrary, he had only related their willingness to participate. This same 'readiness' is all that the brothers have been sent to re-establish. He was not charging the brothers with anything more than that they should organise the collection in Corinth so that

⁵⁰ Thus we agree with K. Nickle's portrait, that Paul was extremely anxious as he wrote about his impending third visit (22); similarly Plummer (254) attributes Paul's anxiety to the fact that he had apparently misrepresented the Corinth situation to the Macedonians. We do not share Plummer's view on this, however. As we have suggested, Paul seems to have been cautious to give the church due credit for their original enthusiasm.

when the Macedonians arrived, they would have no doubt that the Corinthian church had returned to that same state of 'readiness' (including attitude) about which Paul had boasted earlier.⁵¹

This concept is further supported by the fact that Paul spent three months in the region ("Greece", Acts 20:3). Conceivably there was more to his mission than just gathering the collection. Also, since the termination of his mission there was not of his own choosing (a plot to kill him was discovered, Acts 20:4), it appears plausible that he ministered in the area not only to renew fellowship with the church but also to give the church an opportunity to fully participate, in a liberal way, in the collection.

It should be clear from what has been said that a linkage exists between chapters 8 and 9. This link consists in Paul's elaboration of the reasons he sent his envoys to Corinth. These reasons include the fact that Corinthian participation will effectively prove the church's love and obedience, while it will also validate the boast which Paul had made concerning them.

Paul's 'Vision' of Proper Corinthian Participation

In this section Paul speaks directly to the subject

⁵¹The term *ἐτοιμην* in v. 5 is a common term meaning 'preparedness'. It is unlikely that the term could have carried the meaning 'preparedness by being in a state of completion'; it seems altogether anticipatory. In 1 Cor. 2:9 and Lk. 2:30 (et al) it is used soteriologically for the salvation which God has prepared for his people. Conversely, it is also used for the preparation made for the destruction of the wicked (Mt. 25:41). Paul uses the term again in this epistle at 10:6, once more with a future completion in view.

of the necessary attitude and amount of the Corinthian contribution. This is in line with the purpose of the epistle as a 'surrogate presence' for him. These are personal appeals, the sharing of a personal vision of the interworking of God's purposes through those churches willing to follow his will. The theme which Paul wishes to emphasise is the mutual benefit which resulted to all participants in the collection; those who give, those who receive, and God who had caused the relationship to occur.

Paul confronted the church with the sowing-reaping motif which was not an unfamiliar one for him to use,⁵² nor, apparently, for the Corinthians to understand.⁵³ Their choice is mentioned explicitly in v. 7. The choice was both an exhortation and a warning. It implied that rewards, or punishment, would be forthcoming as a result of the Corinthian response.

'Pros and Cons'

We wish to assert that it was at this point in the collection appeals that Paul began a consideration of both sides of the collection issue. In the following pages we will consider how Paul understood the way in which the collection's interrelationships should work. However, it would be inconceivable, given his past relationship with the Corinthians, the unsettled conditions of the church as he wrote, the presence of intruding 'false-apostles',

⁵²Cf. 1 Cor. 9:10; Gal. 6:7.

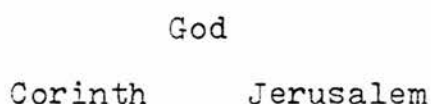
⁵³Cf. R. Austgen (94) on the use of the phrase in Hellenistic literature.

and the importance of the collection for church unity, to believe that he would have concluded his remarks with this somewhat unfounded optimism that the Corinthians would respond to the fund just as he hoped they would. As we will venture to show, this is but the 'pro' side of a 'pro and con' treatment of the collection issue. The 'con' segment of the argument consisted of the controversial section which contains chapters 10-13.

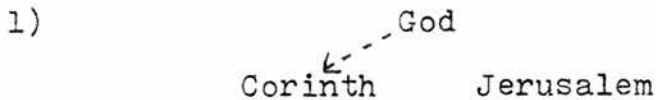
The Triangular Relationship

Our analysis of this last sub-section of the chapter will be of a somewhat expository nature. This course is followed to allow for the most detailed understanding of Paul's remarks and purposes here. We wish to show that Paul presented, in this 'pro' argument, a hypothetical, somewhat idealised, 'vision' of the potential for Christian brotherhood, ecclesiastical unity, and worship directed toward God, which could be the proper outworking of the collection project.

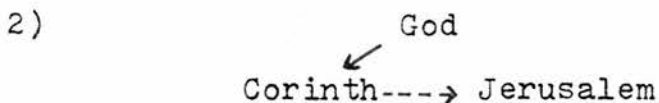
In developing what he understood to be the manifestation of the proper course of action on the church's part, Paul described a complex interrelationship involving his readers (Corinth), the Jerusalem church, and God himself. The relationship can be portrayed graphically as a triangle, in which 'God' appears at the peak of the figure, while 'Corinth' and 'Jerusalem' are placed at either side of the base:



While many other commentators have noticed the interrelationships involved in Paul's vision here, to our knowledge, no one has sought to analyse these relationships in this form. It is our opinion that this diagram can aid in an understanding of the tremendous significance Paul attached to the collection on the level of brotherhood and unity which it was able to achieve.



Paul begins by asserting the richness of the blessings which God was able to provide among the Corinthians (v. 8). These blessings include those of a material nature.⁵⁴

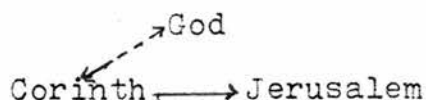


The Apostle proceeds to show that God had a purpose in mind for these blessings beyond the mere provision for survival. This purpose is obvious from the phrase *περισσεύητε εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν* in v. 8. Paul stated explicitly that the Corinthians were given the abundant blessings for the purpose of supporting good works. In this expression we can understand that the Pauline view of the collection for Jerusalem was nothing less than a demand that the Corinthians use their blessings for the express purposes for which they were given. The implication is clear for those who wished that the blessings from God

⁵⁴ The term *αὐτοῶν* includes monetary gain as one of the necessities of life in a culture such as that in Corinth.

were to continue.⁵⁵

3)



The Corinthians are meant to understand the collection to be an opportunity for them to show their obedience to God. Paul had already affirmed that the fund would be a witness to the proof of their earnestness and love (8:8, 24). Paul adds to those 'proofs' one which would reveal to all observers that the Corinthians understood their responsibility toward God as recipients of his blessings.

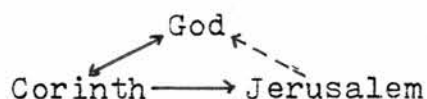
The responsibility flows 'horizontally' toward the completion of good works, on the Corinth-Jerusalem side of the triangle. It also flowed 'vertically' on the Corinth-God side, as an expression of their obedience to the one who provided the funds for the accomplishment of the good works.

Of course their response to God would be made through the ministry of the Lord's own apostle. Thus, the Corinthians' response to God necessarily affected their response to Paul. Their action would reveal, for good or for ill, the preparation they had received from their Apostle. Consequently, their failure to show this obedience would reveal how ineffective Paul's ministry had been among them, since they had failed to recognize a legitimate work of God's grace.

⁵⁵Cf. Austgen (95) who understands this argument to be " . . . an enticing venture for any practically-minded man".

With the use of Psalm 112, Paul developed the theme of 'sowing and reaping' into a more personal significance for the Corinthians. He illustrated the relationship between God's blessings and the Corinthian obligation toward the proper use of those blessings. Thus, the Corinthians could 'scatter abroad' (ἐσκόρπισεν, v. 9) because it was God who 'provided seed for the sower' (v. 10). Similarly the church was able to 'give to the poor' (v. 9) because it was God who had supplied them with the basic necessities of life (ἀπὸν εἰς βρωσιν, v. 10).

4)

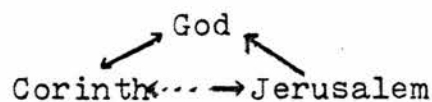


In v. 11 Paul introduced the important concept that, as a result of this ministry for the saints, the Jerusalem church would be moved to joyously praise God upon his provision for them. Paul explicitly noted that the proper response on the part of the Corinthians would occasion praise from Jerusalem for the author of the blessings, and the interrelationships which made such good works possible.⁵⁶ Yet Paul also declared that this proper response on the Corinthians' part would also be a form of praise to God since they had passed their 'test' (v. 13) and had been found faithful to their calling.

⁵⁶The use of the term ἡ διακονία τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης (v. 12) to describe the collection has occasioned a few scholars to note the linguistic connection between τῆς λειτουργίας and a tax administered in the early Hellenistic times on wealthy citizens.

Especially significant is the fact that the content of the Jerusalem praise, as envisioned by Paul, would include a recognition by that church that τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ was evident in the lives of the Corinthian gentiles by their actions. One can imagine how longingly these words flowed from the mouth of the Apostle!

5)



To complete the return flow of blessings occasioned by the Corinthians' generosity, Paul observed how the Jerusalem church would have a new relationship with Corinth (v. 14) which would be characterised by their 'longing' for the Corinthians, and their 'prayer' for them.

Paul had revealed how the proper attitude, and a liberal contribution on the Corinthians' part, would set in motion a process which would provide for the needs of a sister church, and which would bring further enrichment to themselves. Yet, it would also gain, for them, the love and prayerful concern of the 'Mother' church.

The Jerusalem Prayer (v. 15)

Intentionally we have isolated the final verse of this chapter for separate analysis. As has been indicated elsewhere, we accept the unity of this epistle. In order to further establish support for this position, some solution must be found for the somewhat perplexing change of tone involved in the transition from this chapter to the next.

On face value the change from the 'thanksgiving' of 9:15, to the apostolic appeal of 10:1ff has all the indications of being either an artificially created contextual relationship, or a major, and abrupt, change of subject-matter.

Certainly this latter option has been regarded as the most plausible solution by those who wish to maintain the unity of the epistle. The question must be asked, however, if there is not some other way to interpret the two 'sides' of the apparent break.

A close analysis of the context of 9:15, and its role in Paul's argument, seems to reveal that the popular 'interjected thanksgiving' interpretation for v. 15 may not be correct. Thus, it also incorrectly implies a greater opposition to the tone of 10:1 than Paul had originally intended.

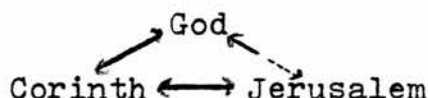
Is it the case that as Paul presented his vision of the collection that he became so enraptured with the potential of it all that emotion overcame him and he exclaimed: $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omega\ \theta\epsilon\omega\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\nu\epsilon\kappa\delta\iota\gamma\eta\tau\omega$? Certainly this is one possibility, and there have been a few scholars who favour this viewpoint.⁵⁷

Support for this view usually amounts to a listing of some other references where Paul is said to have interjected praise similar to the case at hand (1 Cor. 15:57; Ro. 11:33; 1 Tim. 1:17). Yet this is far from the only possibility available to us.

⁵⁷Plummer (266); Tasker (130); Beasley-Murray (62); Harris (378); Austgen (96).

G. Wiles believes 9:15 to be an interjected prayer to God from Paul also, but his overall study of Pauline prayers actually militates against this conclusion.⁵⁸ In his analysis of 9:14, he specifically noted it as a unique "prayer-report" which originated not from Paul, but from the Jerusalem church members. Yet, when similar elements are present in v. 15 Wiles fails to be consistent in his analysis. We believe the verse follows naturally from v. 14 as the actual content of the anticipated 'Jerusalem prayer'. Paul was simply completing his 'vision' of the anticipated Jerusalem reaction to the collection.

This view is also consistent with the triangle imagery which we have used to describe this 'vision'. For with these actual words from Jerusalem, in praise of God as the actual provider of the Corinthian gift, the imagery is complete:



The significance for Paul that this prayer should originate from Jerusalem as a result of Corinthian generosity can not be overestimated. It is this very 'vision' which drives him; the unequivocal recognition by the Jerusalem church and its leadership of the grace of God working among the Gentiles.⁵⁹

⁵⁸G. Wiles Paul's Intercessory Prayers, 232ff.

⁵⁹W. Franklin 14, 52-53; Plummer, 230; Strachan, 132.

Therefore, the prayer in v. 15, is to be understood as uttered by the Jerusalem church (in Paul's 'vision') and is not an emotional outburst on the part of the Apostle. It reflects only the tone of the hypothetical drama which Paul had been presenting and was only related slightly to the tone of the Apostle as he prepared to confront the Corinthians with the 'con' side of his arguments. While not removing all the difficulties of the transition between chapters 9 and 10, this interpretation does have the effect of removing some of the force of the tonal change and thus allows for the possibility of understanding a linkage to exist between these chapters on the order of the 'pro-con' relationship we have suggested.

It also has the advantage of providing an alternative interpretation for the opening of chapter 10 with a personal appeal (*Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος ...*). Rather, than having the appearance of being an absolute break with the previous passage, in both time and focus, the introduction of his personal appeals in 10:1 can be understood as a resumption of the Pauline exhortations contained prior to the 9:6-15 section. It thus indicates the conclusion of Paul's hypothetical 'vision' of the collection contained in those verses.

Therefore, we conclude that the so-called 'collection chapters' contain Paul's personal appeals to the Corinthian church to participate properly in the collection for Jerusalem. He challenges them on various levels, and

provides for them his 'vision' of the ideal outworking of the collection project. In effect, Paul had appealed to every possible motivating force he could in an effort to gain the Corinthians' voluntary, and willing, support of the offering.

However, as we have mentioned before, one of the major stumbling blocks in the Corinthians' association with the collection was their suspicions concerning Paul's legitimacy as an apostle. That suspicion gained support in the opposing viewpoints of the intruders. Paul had not, as yet dealt with this threat to the success of the collection project. We will venture to show that chapters 10-13 contain Paul's effort to deal with these issues. They represent what we will call the 'con' (or negative) side of the issue. Paul needed to defend the legitimacy of his apostleship in an effort to remove that final obstacle from the Corinthian's participation in the fund, and he also needed to deal with the 'what if' questions concerning the consequences of an improper Corinthian response. Without a treatment of these issues, Paul's elaborate arguments in chapters 8-9 would fail to have any 'teeth' behind them. Such a situation would indeed have been less than a powerful incentive for the Corinthians, and would reveal Paul's mishandling of the Corinthian situation.

Chapter 6

"Chapters 10-13: The
'Negative' Side of the Argument"

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The 'Negative' Side of the Argument

Structure and Purpose of Chapters 10-13

When we turn our attention directly upon chapters 10-13 of 2 Corinthians we realize that we have entered much travelled ground. It would be profitless, if not impossible, to either attempt an exhaustive exposition of the section on a verse-by verse basis, or to provide a critique of every major contribution by the numerous commentators who have addressed themselves to the study of this section. Instead, it will be our task to understand how the chapters are structured, and the purpose for that structuring, in order to observe how they logically follow, and supplement the 'collection chapters'.

Yet, when we begin to explore the possible link between Paul's anxieties about the collection (and the Corinthian response to it), with the concerns of the last four chapters of the epistle, we have no less than the scholarly opinion of A. Plummer and C. K. Barrett against any such linkage.¹ Despite these objections, however, we believe a number of factors force us to reconsider these views.

¹The possibility that 10-13 is a continuation of the collection issue has been directly denied by both of these men. Plummer (Critical and Exegetical Commentary-2 Corinthians, 272) wrote, "The subject of the Collection is absolutely dropped; in the four chapters there is no further allusion to it."; cf. Barrett (Second Corinthians, 243), "In chaps. x-xiii there is no word of the collection (apart from the negative allusion to it in xii.16f)".

As we have noted, the importance of the collection in Corinth should not be underestimated. We believe the offering had a greater significance in Corinth than it did in most of the other congregations in which it was established. Paul had attached, to the Corinthian response, a 'test' of their earnestness, love, and obedience (8:8, 24; 9:12). Their failure to participate properly in this 'test' would have numerous implications for the continued success of the church, as well as for Paul himself.² Thus, for him, a rebellion on this issue would have been nothing less than a rejection of his ministry and its authority in Corinth. The basis of his apostolic ministry would be shattered (at least in its outward expression). Such a revolt would be interpreted as the church's determination that the intruding apostles had a better claim to apostolic legitimacy than did Paul.³

² Cf. L. Hurtado "The Jerusalem Collection and the Book of Galatians", 49.

³ Barrett (Signs of an Apostle, 40) allows for the possibility that the Corinthians' failure to distinguish true and false apostles was due, in part, to the fact that 'apostleship' was a poorly defined office at that time. While some apostles were known to attach their authority directly to a call from Christ, others, who were appointed by churches for specific tasks, also were known by that term.

While this is a valid point, Barrett does seem to have a tendency to remove the blame for the rebellion from the Corinthians. In a section of his commentary ("Corinth after 1 Corinthians" ppg. 5-21; esp. 7 and 10), he almost totally exonerates the church members from any wrongdoing. Illustrative of this tendency are his remarks concerning the three groups addressed by Paul in 10-13: "... the Corinthians themselves, over whom Paul grieves, because they have been led astray; occasionally anger breaks out, but Paul seldom forgets that they are not the prime movers . . . their ingratitude and disloyalty are not entirely their fault" (245).

Thus it is obvious that the anxiety which is evident in Paul's 'collection chapters' was not just associated with eliciting a large contribution from the church, but it actually involved a type of 'watershed' for his ministry at Corinth, and possibly elsewhere as well.

With these factors in mind, along with the obvious fact that strict cooperation with the Apostle had not been a Corinthian trademark, it appears to us no less than incomprehensible that Paul would end his treatment of the collection issue with the vision of the 'Triangular Relationship' which presupposed proper Corinthian participation in the controversial offering (9:12ff).

We believe Paul would be remiss if he had not directly addressed that element of the church which was unrepentant, and unconvinced that he was the proper administrator of their money. It does not come as a surprise to us that Paul had a definite need to warn the Corinthian church what consequences they were subject to in the event that they failed to heed his appeals and refused to participate in the 'test'.⁴ While he made every effort to maintain the voluntary nature of the fund (8:8), Paul was not at all implying that he had actually given them a free option

⁴Even Holmberg (Paul and Power) recognizes that the 10-13 section reveals the anxiety Paul had concerning the heeding of his appeals by the church: "In the whole of the Pauline correspondence there is only one instance (2 Cor. 10-13) where the Apostle does not take it for granted that he will be obeyed." (81). Of course, we would want to add that Paul was not certain of their obedience from chap. 8 through chap. 13.

whether to participate or not. Participation was a choice they needed to make. Yet that choice carried with it certain rewards or punishments consistent with the nature of the response.

This, then, is the context of chaps. 10-13, the 'negative' side of Paul's 'pro-con' argument. Paul needed to add this word of warning against those who would seek to repeat a scene similar to the 'painful visit' when he arrived for the third time.

Therefore, we believe Paul sought to assure the Corinthians that he, indeed, was the proper administrator for the collection, and had acted in their best interests as he followed the will of God in this issue. It was left for him to clear the final hurdle of their criticism against his apostolic legitimacy in order to persuade them of his motivations in the matter. Once he had done this, he was able to warn them that their disobedience would have consequences for them as well as for him.

The Tonal Change

That the epistle displays a change of tone in these chapters is consistent with the nature of the material he was treating. We would hardly expect to hear 'pros and cons' of such an important issue given in the same tone. In this case, he was making a transition from a vision of divinely-blessed fellowship, to a stern apostolic warning. The tonal change is expected and is a necessary component of the argument, consistent with the purposes of the epistle.

Those who have commented on the tonal change, and have supported the position of unity for the epistle, have, very often, attempted to diminish the force of the change. Responding to K. Lake's view that an "absolute break"⁵ occurs at 10:1, A. Menzies tried to show that the general subject matter of the epistle was carried through from the 'body' (1-9) to the final four chapters.⁶

On the other hand, those supporting the various partition theories are just as adamant to emphasize the awkwardness of the tonal change. Illustrative of this position is the work of Barrett who, though acknowledging a consistency in subject matter throughout, also believes the last four chapters reveal a distinct "change of atmosphere".⁷

Actually we find ourselves in fuller agreement with Barrett than with Menzies here. We can hardly ignore the tonal difference between Paul's hypothetical 'vision' in chap. 9, and the warnings in chap. 10ff. Obviously Barrett is correct in recognizing a change in the Apostle's mood and

⁵K. Lake (The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul) states the 'classic' description for the partition viewpoint. "There is not only no connection between 2 Cor. i-ix and 2 Cor. x-xiii, but there is an absolute break between them There has never been, and indeed there never can be, any dispute as to the fact that the whole tone of the epistle changes suddenly at ch.x.1. . . ." (155, 157).

⁶A. Menzies ("The Integrity of II Corinthians" Exp 8/6 (1913) 373.): "The break at x:1 is not absolute, the story set before use in i-ix is carried forward in the last chapters".

⁷C. K. Barrett (Second Corinthians, 244) calls 10:1 an "unmistakable" entrance into a new division of the epistle.

in the response he expects from the Corinthians. Yet, contrary to Barrett's proposals⁸, we believe the tonal change is explained by what we have termed Paul's 'pro and con' treatment of the collection issue. The tonal change delimits his treatment of these two vastly different perspectives.

Therefore we understand the tonal change at 10:1 to be consistent with the nature of the Pauline argument which included alternative perspectives of the singular issue of the collection.

Chapter 10

From the analysis just presented we understand Paul to have developed a specific pattern of argument to highlight the negative side of the collection issue:

1) Using the full weight of his apostolic authority and the full weight of his role as the mediator of Christ to the Corinthian church, Paul opened this chapter with a double entreaty which reflected certain circumstances regarding his anticipated relationship with the Corinthians (vv. 1-2).

It is this double entreaty (παρακαλῶ - δεῶμαι) which contains the force of his opening remarks and which gives us a clue as to the issues which he was treating here. Unfortunately commentators, for the most part, have centred their attention on the relative clause of the opening

⁸Cf. Barrett, *Ibid.*, 20, 244f.

verse (ὅς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὼν δὲ θαρρῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς) and its significance as a possible anti-Pauline charge related to v. 10.⁹

For our part we are interested to note that the criticisms against Paul again involve the Corinthian judgement that inconsistency was a Pauline characteristic.¹⁰

It is our belief that these entreaties play a crucial role in the understanding of Paul's purpose in these chapters. Yet, very few commentators seem to have recognized the function of the entreaties in their context.¹¹ Barrett, however, does show some sensitivity to this neglect at least with regard to the term παρακαλῶ and its function

⁹The relative clause is usually taken to be a Pauline reflection of the very words directed against him by his opponents (cf. Plummer, Second Corinthians, 273; Beasley-Murray, "2 Corinthians", 63; Schmithals Gnosis in Corinth, 162ff.).

H. D. Betz, however, understands the ταπεινὸς - θαρρῶ "Begriffpaar" (Die Gegner des Paulus, 46ff) to be wholly a Pauline construction. We agree with Betz on the point that it is unnecessary to believe the criticism originated with the intruders. Paul was directing his comments at the church. Such a criticism, we believe, would be an appropriate representation of the Corinthian disfavour with their Apostle. The "Begriffpaar", then, is a reflection of critical attitudes against Paul but not necessarily reflective of the actual words used in that criticism.

¹⁰Cf. P. Richardson "Pauline Inconsistency: 1 Cor. 9:19-23 and Galatians 2:11-14" NTS 26 (4/80) 347-362.

¹¹R. H. Strachan (The Second Epistle to the Corinthians London: 1935, 12) completely ignores the force or meaning of the double entreaty. Others, while not being so neglectful, certainly fail to recognize their full force in the context.

F. Filson ("The Second Epistle to the Corinthians" The Interpreter's Bible New York, Nashville: 1953, 383) considers the entreaties only to be a request of the Corinthians that they change their attitude toward Paul. It was their false attitude which led to their charging

in the context.¹² He notices that a certain "vehemence" is maintained through v. 2 and believes Paul to have been addressing two distinct groups there: 1) the Corinthian church members, and 2) an unspecified group against which Paul was determined to use his 'boldness'.¹³

2) Paul recognized that when he personally arrived in Corinth, he would need to deal sharply with a certain group of individuals in the church who were identified only as τοὺς λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς ὡς κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντας

It is crucial to understand against whom Paul was threatening the use of his 'boldness'. Certainly it is obvious he meant to confront those who considered him to be

him with behaving κατὰ σάρκα. Beasley-Murray ("2 Corinthians", 64) understands that the relative clause contains a charge of Pauline cowardice. Paul, then, entreats the Corinthians not to cause him to demonstrate the falsity of that charge. Hering (The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians tr. Heathcote and Allcock, London, 1967, 70) allows the entreaties only the force of 'hope' that the church would conduct themselves in a reasonable manner and allow the Apostle to retract his threat of 'boldness'. (We can find some common ground with Hering here. While he does not fully recognize the intensity of the entreaties, he does understand the connection between Corinthian conduct and the conditional nature of the Pauline threat.)

A somewhat better understanding is that of Tasker (The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians Grand Rapids: 1958, 131ff.). He believes Paul sought Corinthian obedience as a response to his apostolic authority. This view is consistent with our own concept that the obedience which Paul sought would be directed toward Corinthian participation in the collection.

¹² Barrett (Second Corinthians), 246.

¹³ Ibid., 249; Barrett is a bit confusing here, however. He wants to maintain the temporary and superficial nature of the Corinthian disloyalty by asserting that Paul does not actually threaten the church with the same fate as the intruders. Yet, at the same time, he writes that Paul presupposed that his sternness was dependent upon some action of the Corinthians: (specifically their withdrawal of support for the intruders).

'walking' *κατὰ σάρκα* . We notice, however, that he was not making his double entreaty with this group in mind. Paul did not at all appeal for this group to change their opinions about him in order to avoid his show of strength. Rather, he was well aware that he would, of necessity, have to deal harshly with them. For, we believe this group to have been the intruders (and, possibly, those Corinthians who had been irretrievably 'won-over' to their side) who have sought to lead the church into disobedience.

Thus, in this verse (v. 2), Paul expressed that he wished not to deal with the Corinthians, as a church, in the same manner (*τῇ πεποιθήσει ἣ λογίζομαι τολμῆσαι*) that he would deal with the intruders. The extent of his having to show 'boldness' against the Corinthians was within their own power to control. The individual members of the church were able to include or exclude themselves from his coming wrath, conditional on some action of theirs which would reveal their detachment from the anti-Pauline faction. As we have attempted to maintain throughout this study, the collection issue was regarded by Paul as the issue upon which he would make his judgment as to the reality of the Corinthian obedience.¹⁴

3) Thus Paul argued that he could indeed call upon certain 'weapons' with which to do battle against the

¹⁴Cf. R. Longenecker's study on 'active' obedience: "The Obedience of Christ in the Theology of the Early Church" Reconciliation and Hope (New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology presented to L. L. Morris on his 60th Birthday) ed. R. Banks, Exeter: 1974, 142-152.

malcontents at Corinth. Yet, he reminded the church that his purpose in waging any battle was not for the uplifting of his own status, but for the purpose of: *ἀιχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νοῦμα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (vv. 5b-6).

Here, Paul had made a key transition from a digression relating to the charges that he acted in a 'fleshly' manner, to the important theme of obedience in the Corinthian church (4b-6). He declared that the *δυνατὰ τῶ θεῶ* (v. 4a) had been made available to him for the specific task of removing any obstacles from the *γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ*. The ultimate purpose of these actions was directed at "subjecting all thoughts to the obedience of Christ".

It is our belief that the expression *τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ* should be regarded as a subjective genitive relationship. This seems to be supported when one regards the elements which Paul was engaged in 'destroying' (*ὀχυρωμάτω ψυχολογισμῶν, πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον*). These particular elements appear to have been purposely placed as contrary to the type of obedience manifested by Christ. However, this is not the widely accepted reading of the genitive. We find Barth taking this line¹⁵, but Barrett, while showing a knowledge of Barth's reading, decides that the context does not demand it. Instead he relates Paul's words to the theme of 'captivity to Christ' and the need for man not to be self-centred but Christ-centred.¹⁶

¹⁵K. Barth Church Dogmatics IV. i.194.

¹⁶C. K. Barrett Second Corinthians 253.

Tasker reads the genitive as objective, but he also recognizes that Paul was emphasizing the role of 'servant' in Christ's nature as that the Corinthians were called to emulate.¹⁷ Such an interpretation accomplishes the same task as does the subjective genitive reading since it focuses on the type of obedience which characterized Christ's work.

We understood this expression to reveal that it was Paul's concern to subject every individual to a similar type of obedience; the obedience characterized by humility and self-giving submission which was revealed in the life and, especially, the death of Christ.¹⁸

Thus, in v. 6, the Apostle made these points relate directly to the Corinthian situation. In a curious expression, Paul asserted that the obedience of the church needed to occur prior to any efforts he might have made to discipline the remaining opponents to his authority.¹⁹ The operative

¹⁷Tasker The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 135; cf. Beasley-Murray ("2 Corinthians", 64) who understands Paul to be calling men to be set free by Christ in order to obey him.

¹⁸Cf. Longenecker, "The Obedience of Christ", 142ff.

¹⁹True to his desire to maintain that the Paul-Corinth relationship was basically sound, Barrett explains this verse by stating that the Apostle meant to punish only the intruders as soon as the Corinthians returned to a proper relationship with him (Second Corinthians, 253).

However, there are those commentators who understand that some Corinthians may also have been included in Paul's concept of who would be disciplined when he arrived. Beasley-Murray ("2 Corinthians", 64) states that Paul was just awaiting a show of willingness on the part of the church to listen to his directions, before he would engage in correcting the remaining disobedient members. F. Filson ("The Second Epistle to the Corinthians", 385) seems to take too much away from the verse, however, when he understands this promise of discipline to be directed against disobedient

word in verse, ὅταν , serves to sharpen the focus of the dual entreaty with which Paul opened the chapter. We believe Paul had appealed to the church by asking them to make it possible for him to withhold his 'boldness' (some form of disciplinary action) against them. The expression in v. 6 specified how they could accomplish this task. Therefore, Paul was waiting for the church to do something of a positive nature to show the completeness of their obedience.

The object of this obedience is quite clear, once the unity of the epistle is granted as a possibility. Paul had called for the Corinthians to show their obedience (ὕποταγή , v. 9:13) in glorifying God through their participating in the Jerusalem collection. He now awaited the fulfillment of that obedience before he would proceed with the task of discipline. Paul, then looked toward an outward, positive expression of the Corinthians' earnestness, love and obedience, through their humble, self-giving submission to his appeals for their proper participation in the collection. Thus, they would manifest the fact that they had, indeed, attained to full obedience since they would have been emulating the obedience which was similar to their Lord's.

"ringleaders" only. He also believes that this verse supports his view that chaps. 10-13 were written prior to chaps. 1-9.

We believe Oostendorp (Another Jesus, 19ff) to be on the right track when he understands Paul to have been attempting to enlist some form of Corinthian cooperation prior to his disciplinary efforts. Yet, we are not in agreement with his reasons for viewing the verse in this way.

Response to Criticism and the Justification of His Own Ministry

The appeal τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπετε (v. 7) properly led Paul's discussion to the consideration of the falsity of the intruders who had beguiled the church.²⁰ The remainder of the chapter deals with Paul's vindication of his own actions and intents toward the Corinthian church. He was concerned to show that, through his ministry among them, he had sought to manifest that same obedience (characterized by Christ) which he had called the Corinthians to display.

Paul's argument touched upon the issue of his concept of the ἐξουσία he had received as an apostle (v. 8ff). He needed to demonstrate the fact that he had not boasted overly about his authority (as his opponents believed), but, reminding them that he had authoritative measures which he

²⁰We can partially agree with Beasley-Murray ("2 Corinthians", 65) that Paul does not deny that his opponents also belong to Christ (v. 7). But, of course, Paul does not state this as fact either. He might only be reflecting a claim made for the intruders by the Corinthians.

For the occasion of Paul's remarks here, cf. W. Schmithals (Gnosis in Korinth, 162f: an echo of the Christ party's claims); C. K. Barrett (Second Corinthians, 257); E. Käsemann (Der Legitimität des Apostels,); Oostendorp (Another Jesus, 19): these men understand the opponents made this exclusivistic claim which excluded Paul (though Barrett is a bit cautious as to how exclusive the claim actually was). Plummer (Second Corinthians, 92): Paul was "speaking of his critics generally" without accepting or denying the truth of such claims.

We would be closer to Plummer here. Paul may only have been declaring that whatever might be the claims of his opposition, the Corinthians should be aware that he was also to be understood as being 'in Christ'. Those opposing him believed his inconsistency denied him the appropriation of that title. On the contrary, Paul stated that he was acting quite consistently toward the 'higher' goal of manifesting the ὑποταγή τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

could use for discipline, he stated that the end result of such activity would be to their betterment and not for their destruction.

Such appeals focused the issue on the comparison of Paul's ministry with that of the intruders who had led the church into doubting the legitimacy of their founder's claim to apostleship. This doubt placed a major obstacle before the Paul-Corinth relationship. It represented a threat to ecclesiastical development in Corinth and jeopardized his administration of the gospel among all other gentiles. Paul, then, was forced to deal with the questions about his legitimacy before he could be assured of further Corinthian cooperation. For this reason, then, in the midst of his 'pro and con' argument regarding Corinthian participation in the collection, Paul needed to engage in a defense of his apostleship in order to convince the Corinthians that they should follow the advice he had given them.

Throughout his argument he revealed the falsity of his opponent's (and the Corinthians') standards with which they measured the validity of apostolic claims. He summed up the only proper object worthy of boasting in v. 17: ὁ... καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω.²¹ It was this type of boasting which

²¹Cf. 1 Cor. 1:31ff; It should be noted that these themes had been part of Paul's discussion very early in the Corinthian correspondence. Paul's emphasis on 'God's great reversal' (that God chose the weak and foolish through whom he revealed his strength) had been a consistent theme in his dealings with the church at Corinth.

Paul tried to show was legitimately manifested through his ministry.

Thus, Paul's strategy was to emphasize that if he indeed adopted the intruder's view of apostleship, he could boast with them point for point. However, he meant to manipulate what he termed such 'foolishness' to a position where the Corinthians would be able to understand that it was only in boasting of the work that God had accomplished through him, that a man truly revealed himself as an apostle of Christ. To facilitate his argument he provided what we have termed Paul's 'Digression into Foolishness' which is found throughout much of chaps. 11 and 12. The 'Digression' is somewhat occasioned by the final assertion of 10:18: οὐ γὰρ ^{ἐαυτὸν} ὁ συνιστάνων ἐκεῖνός δοκιμος ἀλλὰ ὅς ^{ἐαυτὸν} κύριος συνίστηται. Thus, we understand this 'Digression' to have had a limited purpose of securing the validity of Paul's claim of not being inferior to his opponents, in what he could claim, or in what the Corinthians themselves had seen to be the result of his ministry: the formation of their church. Upon establishing his claim to legitimacy, he would have the necessary grounds with which to support the warnings he had expressed in the double entreaty of 10:1-2.

Therefore, Paul provided an 'apostolic defense' as a supportive argument for the reality of his ἐξουσία. He attempted to convince the Corinthians that he possessed the means to implement the threats he had mentioned.

The Digression Into Foolishness

There seems to be no doubt that Paul begins to enter upon a new phase of his argument at 11:1 (although he does not engage in 'foolishness' until 11:16). The section appears to divide naturally into three sections:

1) Introduction, 11:1-15; including a summation of some remaining criticisms against him, and Paul's own characterization of his opponents;

2) Boasting in Weakness, 11:16-12:10; including his catalogue of sufferings, visions of the Lord and the revelation from the Lord concerning his weakness;

3) Recapitulation, 12:11-13; explaining why he became a 'fool' and closing the digression with the theme of 'being a burden'.

Because these three sections seem easily discernible, it appears that the 'Digression' was a well-conceived strategic form of argument.²² An important factor to keep in

²² Cf. H. D. Betz (Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu seiner "Apologie", 2 Korinther 10-13. Tübingen: 1972) tried to point out the similarity in argumentation technique employed by anti-Sophist scholars and the Apostle Paul in his 'Digression into Foolishness'. Betz argues that Paul used not only a similar technique but also a similar terminology. also cf. S. H. Travis ("Paul's Boasting in 2 Corinthians 10-12" Studia Evangelica Vol. VI, ed. E. A. Livingstone (TUGAL, band 112) Berlin:1973) who believes the Corinthians were convinced of the opponents' position through the use of rhetorical tactics usually employed by Sophists. Thus, both Betz and Travis understand Paul to have been forced into the tactic of presenting a convincing account of himself in spite of its own distastefulness.

A. T. Lincoln ("Paul the Visionary: The Setting and Significance of the Rapture to Paradise in II Corinthians xii.1-12" NTS 25 (1/79) 204-220) complains that Betz may have succumbed to the temptation of subordinating too much of Paul's argument under the proposed Socratic parallels (cf. E. A. Judge "St. Paul and Classical Society", Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum XV (1972) 35).

mind, however, is that almost all of the argument within the 10-13 section which could be termed 'apostolic defense', is contained in this 'Digression into Foolishness'. Thus, the contemporary predilection to term the entire 10-13 section as 'apostolic defense' should be understood to be a mistake in need of correction.

While we have noted the attempts of some scholars to trace a contemporary influence from which Paul borrowed his argumentative structure, it should be emphasized that these same scholars who hold to such views almost unanimously regard Paul's rhetorical tactics to have been limited to the 'Digression'.²³ Thus, we continue to assert that Paul's 'Digression' needs to be understood as supportive of the appeals made on either 'side' of the 'Digression'.

1) The Introduction

Under the characterization of ὁφείλον Paul began his entrance into the realm of the intruders by giving a full explanation of why he felt it was necessary for him to adopt such a course.

We believe that Paul seriously believed that the entire Corinthian mission was at stake (v. 2). Apparently he believed that his relationship to the church was their only protection against what he understood to be the designs of Satan. His analogy of the serpent and Eve (v. 2), was a fitting description of the nature of the confrontation.

²³Cf. R. Jewett Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings Leiden:1971; esp. 10f.

a) Paul's Description of His Opponents

The point of confrontation most discussed by scholars is that of 11:4. There is possibly more said about this verse than any other as a description of Paul's opponents in Corinth. It seems reasonable that it should be interpreted in this way, although how much accurate information it gives us as to the nature of the opponents is open to question. Paul's earlier references to his opponents seem consistent with the outrage he expresses against them here (cf. 2:17; 4:2). But the question remains, are these elements to be understood as an actual description of the opponents' teachings, or are they a general description of how Paul viewed their teachings?²⁴

²⁴Oostendorp (Another Jesus, 10ff) understands these verses to be the clearest description of the crisis Paul faced in 2 Corinthians. He contends that the three main distinctions of the opponents' theology revealed by Paul in this verse were individually attacked by the Apostle in chaps. 3, 4, and 5 respectively. Barrett (Second Corinthians, 275), Strachan (Second Epistle of Paul to Corinth, 18), Filson ("Second Epistle to the Corinthians", 393) and Tasker (Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 147) all believe Paul to have indicated these elements as actual distinctions between the opponents and himself.

Georgi (Die Gegner des Paulus, 285) views the opponents as having had a different Christology from Paul, but he questions whether the other elements have any concrete expressions in the opponents' theology.

Héring (The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, 79) focuses on the contextual force of the verse. Paul, he believes, was only emphasizing the fact that the Corinthians tolerated doctrinal aberrations, he was not reproaching them for already having accepted such teachings.

We agree with Héring's approach here. Emphasis has been placed almost exclusively on the protasis of the verse, yet it seems that Paul, himself, emphasized the apodosis, for this was the mistake the Corinthians had made. Since his arguments were directed at the church, possibly this is where our emphasis should be placed as well. They had openly received foreign religious intruders, but had failed to support their own apostle.

Beyond all the speculation as to the accuracy of the descriptions contained in 11:4, we are inclined to look upon these elements as possibly nothing more than a Pauline rhetorical device aimed at characterizing the habitual Corinthian tendency to receive teachings which were obviously contrary, in all their particulars, to the gospel delivered to them by Paul.²⁵

In spite of their forsaking of him (and, to a large extent, because of this forsaking) Paul had to 'foolishly' declare: λογίζομαι γὰρ μηδὲν ὑστερηκεναὶ τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστολῶν v.5²⁶ Paul's counter-attack was in desperate need of this declaration and it was from this base that he proceeded to clear up the issues which apparently occasioned the Corinthian desire for other leaders.

b) Unskilled Speech and Apostolic Legitimacy

In the midst of this 'Introduction' Paul addressed some issues which may have been closely related. Apparently,

²⁵ The same 'device' may have been used in 1 Cor. 1:12 concerning the number of Corinthian parties and their affiliations.

²⁶ Most recent commentators understand this reference to be referring to the opponents at Corinth and not to the Jerusalem leadership. This fits the context well, although we consider it would have not been beyond Paul to claim equality with Jerusalem either. Cf. the opposing view of M. E. Thrall "Super Apostles, Servants of Christ, Servants of Satan" *JSNT* 6 (1980) 42-57; also C. K. Barrett (*Second Corinthians*, 278) who believes this to have been an ironical expression which referred to the Jerusalem apostles. In another work, (*Signs of an Apostle*, 38f) he compares references in Galatians to those in 2 Corinthians to support his view. Barrett's point breaks down however when he attempts to understand ψευδάδελφοι (Gal. 2:4) as a parallel to ψευδαπόστολοι, here.

these issues were used by his detractors in an attempt to show that he was, indeed, inferior to the intruders.

Although, as we have noted, Paul explained his rationale for refusing support from Corinth, we notice in this section, a reflection of the fact that the Corinthians' seem to have harboured some deep animosity toward their apostle because of that practice.

It is impossible to trace how the logic of the Corinthian argument against Paul developed (if, indeed, it were a Corinthian argument and not one supplied by the intruders). However in vv. 6-12, Paul seems to be reflecting the steps the argument had apparently taken:

- a) Paul was not a skillful speaker (v. 6);
- b) his conduct regarding finances with other churches seems inconsistent with the principles he had explained in 1 Cor. 9 (vv. 8-9);
- c) his refusal of support had caused an offense in the church (v. 7);
- d) his refusal of support was a sign that he did not care for the Corinthians personally (vv. 10-11);
- e) because of these factors, he showed himself to be far different from the other apostles who were known by the church (v. 12).

The criticism that Paul was an unskilled orator was not new to the Corinthian correspondence (cf. 1 Cor. 2:1ff). Yet, it would appear that the Corinthians had developed their criticism to include the belief that such a lack indicated the true reason why he refused their support; i.e., he himself knew he had no legitimate right to accept apostolic support since his lack of oratorical skill testified to the fact that he was not a true apostle.²⁷

²⁷ Cf. the discussion of H. D. Betz (sokratische Tradition, 59) who cites the work of Windisch, Schmithals, Bachmann and

Barrett, who believes these criticisms to have originated with the Corinthians²⁸, cites Antiphon's criticism of Socrates (Xenophon Memorabilia I vi. 12) as an example of the linkage which was made in the Hellenistic world between one's knowledge and his acceptance of payment for it.²⁹ Paul's response to the criticism, that he was not deficient in *γῶσις* (v. 6) may be related to this type of criticism. While his speech may not have been skillful such a lack of talent in that area should have cast no doubt upon the content of his knowledge.

e) Paul's Distinctiveness

We cannot agree with those commentators who believe that Paul's opponents were attempting to shame Paul into accepting support as they, evidently, had.³⁰ Quite on the contrary, Paul's maintenance of his distinction in the support issue appears to have been one of the most effective weapons the intruders possessed in harnessing public support for their own legitimacy.³¹ The factor working against Paul in this matter was the precedence of other apostles (1 Cor. 9:5) to which the intruders could appeal.

Georgi as support for his view that this charge against Paul's speaking ability originated with the intruders; also he cites Käsemann, Heinrici, Plummer, Lietzmann-Kümmel and Héring who believe the charge to be purely a Pauline construction.

²⁸ Barrett (Second Corinthians), 278.

²⁹ Ibid., 281; Antiphon stated that Socrates' wisdom must have been worthless if he accepted no payment for it.

³⁰ contra Filson ("The Second Epistle to the Corinthians", 396); Tasker (The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 153); Beasley-Murray ("2 Corinthians", 68) who understand the opponents as having attempted to induce Paul to become as they.

³¹ Cf. Barrett, (Second Corinthians) 81.

In what appears to be a non sequitur , Paul described the Corinthian mood as one which viewed him as not 'loving' them precisely because he refused to accept their financial support (v.11). It appears to be evident that Paul's financial practices revealed him to favour them less than other churches.³² Paul believed his practice was, at least on the surface, a non-burdening one which should have displayed to the Corinthians his deep concern for their welfare (12:14-15). Yet, contrary to his perspective on the matter, the Corinthians apparently regarded him as being unwilling to enter into as full a relationship with them as he had with churches such as that at Philippi.³³

³²Cf. 12:13 and our discussion of the Corinthians' understanding of Paul's financial relationship with Corinth, above.

³³Oostendorp (Another Jesus, 78ff) explains this apparently illogical Corinthian complaint in a unique way. He understands one of the doctrinal tenets of the intruders to be the necessity of Gentile financial support for their ministry. In this way, the Gentiles 'attached' themselves to the Kingdom of God by their reception of the Kingdom's heralds. This action Oostendorp believes, was consistent with the intruders' doctrine of the supremacy of Israel and was in fulfillment of such eschatological prophecies as Jer. 12:15-17; Zech. 2:11 and 8:23.

Paul's refusal of Corinthian support, then, would be interpreted as his refusal to allow this church to have a share in the Kingdom. Thus he was charged with not loving them.

While we are inclined to view Oostendorp's explanation with interest as a clue to the problem Paul encountered here, there are a number of weak points to his view. Not the least of its weakness is the failure to explain why Paul's collection project would not have been regarded as a fitting 'attachment' for the Corinthians into the ministry of the Kingdom. Certainly the fund's association with the 'Mother Church' in Jerusalem would be appropriate in this regard. Yet, one of the theory's strengths lies in the view that Paul's departure from the 'normal' financial practices of itinerate preachers was used against him by the church and, possibly, by the intruders as well.

We believe our view of the motivation for Paul's continued distinctiveness in the realm of finances to be confirmed by his explanation in v. 12. There appears to be an eschatological force to Paul's use of the term there,³⁴ which reminds us, in accordance with the *ἀνάγκη* - concept of 1 Cor. 9, that Paul understood his ministry to be under the direction and eventual judgment of the God who compelled him to preach. Only in such a way could Paul reveal himself to be truly under God's direction and, thus, diametrically distinct from his opponents. This view appears to allow for a better transition from Paul's consideration of the controversy over his oratory and financial practices to his attack on the legitimacy of his opponents' apostolic claims. Paul's financial uniqueness, in effect, revealed the legitimacy of his own apostleship since he followed the will of God even when it was not expedient. Conversely, as vv. 14-15 show, Paul did not regard the intruders' practices to be a different expression of the same ministry. Rather, he appears to have believed that their opposition to him on these matters revealed them to be opposed to the Kingdom of God by definition.

d) Conclusion

Therefore, beyond the proximity of these two issues to one another in treatment (oratory, v. 6; finances, v. 7)

³⁴Preisker (TDNT II, 769) believes the New Testament use of the term referred to, "... the surprising discovery and mysterious understanding of human existence and historical occurrence in their hidden relationships as seen from the standpoint of, and with the ultimate view to the Kingdom of God".

there appears to be good reason to believe that these issues constituted a major part of the controversy over Paul's refusal to accept Corinthian support. The interrelationship of these factors (unskilled speech, knowledge, refusal of support, and apostolic legitimacy) seems to point out the fact that the Corinthians had apparently attempted to find some reasonable explanation for Paul's financial practice. Apparently his call for the renewal of the collection in their community was an issue which they closely linked to their judgement as to the legitimacy of his apostleship.

These issues, then, should be understood to be important in Paul's decision to use the rhetorical tactic of the 'Digression into Foolishness'.

2) Boasting in Weakness (11:16-12:10)

Although Paul had announced his intention of entering into 'foolishness' in v. 1, it is at v. 16 that he properly began the rhetorical tactic itself. This section is an example of pure Pauline polemic (he even excused the presence of the Lord from responsibility for his foolish boasting, v. 17). He had shifted the entire scene of the argument directly to the heart of the opponents' standards of superiority and sought to confirm his own claim that he was not at all inferior to them on any level (cf. 11:5).

Paul prefaced his 'foolish' venture with an appeal to the Corinthians to bear with him as they had so dangerously tolerated his opponents' view. Paul's remarks in vv. 16-21 appear designed to further indicate the futility of the exercise in which he was about to engage, while placing

responsibility for the endeavour squarely upon the shoulders of the church membership who had been unable to discern when an influence to which they opened themselves had, as its goal, their ultimate destruction (v. 20).³⁵

Thus, he began the 'Digression' most reluctantly, with the purpose of establishing his legitimacy as an apostle. Using the standards of legitimacy so prized by the Corinthians, and apparently boasted of by the intruders, Paul elaborated upon his role as the servant of Christ with its physical sufferings and spiritual comfort. The endeavour itself, we must emphasize, functioned in the context not only to provide an argument for legitimacy, but, more importantly, to prove to the Corinthians that since he was an apostle, his threats and appeals needed to be taken quite seriously. Therefore, the purpose of the 'Digression into Foolishness' was to put some 'teeth' into Paul's warnings concerning the consequences of continued Corinthian disobedience, specifically with regard to the collection issue.

In presenting his catalogue of sufferings³⁶, Paul

³⁵There is no need to understand Paul's expression here as indicative of specific wrongs done to the Corinthians. These are characteristics of what, from Paul's perspective, were the result of the Corinthian tolerance of the opponents and their views. Beasley-Murray ("2 Corinthians", 69) may be correct in stating that the opponents "exercised a real tyranny over the Corinthians", but it is doubtful if Paul meant to allude to specific incidents to each characterization which he had mentioned.

³⁶Travis ("Paul's Boasting in 2 Cor. 10-12", 529, n. 3) cites two articles by A. Fridrichsen (Symb. Osl. VII (1928), 25-29; Symb. Osl. VIII (1929), 78-83) concerning this catalogue of sufferings and possible sources for its format. Among other works of the day, Fridrichsen believes there are a number of parallels between Paul's format and that found

expressed the fact that he would be bold (τολμᾶν)³⁷ in spite of the distastefulness which this practice held for him.

The three elements of v. 22 reveal that the opponents were presenting a claim of exclusivity and superiority, possibly very much related to their Jewishness.³⁸ At the pinnacle of all their claims was the belief that they were δαῖκονοι Χριστοῦ (v. 23), which claim, Paul believed, he could decisively surpass.³⁹ It was in this concept of 'service' where he could reveal his unsurpassed illustrations of true service and, from which, he could begin to adapt the false standards of the opponents toward an understanding of how a true apostle should be judged.

Paul concluded his boasting concerning his service, with the important quality of his concern for the welfare of

in Res Gestae Divi Augusti (Augustus' own account of his achievements). Travis is prepared to suggest that Paul had seen a copy of Res Gestae and may have been influenced by his familiarity with it.

³⁷ Betz (Sokratische Tradition, 67) relates the term τολμᾶν to Paul's use of πανουργία (11:3), πανουργος (12:16), and the concept of θαρρύν (10:1). He understands these terms to relate to the 'boldness' with which Hellenistic philosophers dared to speak the truth against the Sophists. He claims that by early Christian times the terminology employed by Paul here had become an anti-sophist invective. Thus, it would have been well-known by the Corinthians as the terms used within arguments against false teachers.

³⁸ Cf. Oostendorp (Another Jesus, 12-13); contra Georgi (Gegner, 64).

³⁹ Plummer (Second Corinthians, 321) states that the use of ὑπὲρ ἐγὼ to distinguish Paul's ministerial qualities from his opponents does not just indicate the Apostle's belief that he was a superior minister, but he totally rejects the intruder's claims to be ministers at all.

all his churches (v. 28) and his own identification with them when they were weak and suffering (v. 29). Beyond revealing the superiority of his claims to apostolic service, this concern shows him also to have superior motives for that service.

The catalogue of sufferings appears to end at v. 30 with the expression 'Εὐκαυχᾶσθαι δεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας μου καυχῆσθαι. This has given rise to the thought that vv. 32-33 (possibly also v. 31) are later additions to the text.⁴⁰ However there is no objective evidence of a gloss here. While the 'Aretas incident' appears to be an intrusion, it may be nothing more than a Pauline afterthought. Such 'breaks' are not uncommon in Paul. Yet, we would suggest that the inclusion of this incident and the story of his 'visions and revelations', in 12:1ff, are directed at specific criticisms or rumors relating to his past experiences.⁴¹ For, while v. 30 does provide a climax for the enumeration of the sufferings and anxieties of Paul's service for Christ, the 'Aretas incident' and Paul's account of his visions (with the accompanying 'thorn in the flesh') provided him with two sharply focused examples of how he

⁴⁰Cf. Betz (sokratische Tradition) 73, n. 201.

⁴¹Travis ("Paul's Boasting in 2 Corinthians 10-12", 530) understands Paul to be parodying the eulogy style here. With his view that Paul was borrowing the 'achievement catalogue' found in such works as Res Gestae, the Apostle here appears to have summed-up his parody with an expression of humiliating weakness, where a final major exploit of achievement would normally have been expected (i.e., Valerius Maximus' nine books of Facta et Dicta Mirabilia as containing many examples.

glories in his own weakness and in God's strength.⁴²

Visions and Revelations

It seems likely that Paul felt it necessary to include these ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις in order to show the fact that he, also, could claim these as part of his experience. Yet, he de-emphasized these experiences since he interpreted them as having been divinely inhibited.⁴³

We find ourselves in agreement with Lincoln⁴⁴ and Käsemann⁴⁵ that Paul's account gives factual information concerning a vision, or visions, which he experienced.⁴⁶

Travis also cites E. A. Judge (Journal of Christian Education IX, 1966, 32-45) who observes: "... if it is realized that everyone in antiquity would have known that the finest military award for valour was the Corona Murabis for the man who was first up the wall in the face of the enemy, Paul's point is devastatingly plain: he was the first down" (Judge, 45).

Certainly this is an interesting suggestion as to what might be behind the Apostle's choice of this particular incident.

⁴² Concerning this, K. Stendahl (Paul Among the Jews and Gentiles, London:1977, 50) writes: "... Paul consciously saves this experience in order to portray the way he wanted the church to know him: unprepossessing, ugly Paul, on the retreat, sneaking out, crumpled in the basket. That is the image of the Apostle of Christ. That is the earthen vessel, which does not allow the glory of God to be overshadowed by cleaverness, by achievement, by healthiness, by any martyrological urge to make a stand. . ."

⁴³ Cf. Lincoln ("Paul the Visionary", 209) who believes the 'thorn in the flesh' had been given to Paul as a result of such visionary experiences.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 205ff.

⁴⁵ E. Käsemann Legitimität, 63ff.

⁴⁶ Betz (sokratische Tradition, 89ff) denies that Paul was relating an actual experience in these revelations. Part of Paul's purpose, Betz believes, was to drive a wedge of suspicion between the opponents and the community by using a well-known literary device which was used to show the

The weight of evidence clearly falls in this direction since visionary experiences, and the discussion of them, are not uncommon to Paul (cf. Acts 9:1-9; 22:3-16; 26:9-18; 1 Cor. 15:8).

There has been a wealth of debate over why Paul included these previously unexpressed experiences of ecstasy in his argument.⁴⁷ Most of the debate is related to finding some clues to the identification of the opponents, theorizing that if ecstatic experience were not part of the opponents' boast, Paul would not have included them here.⁴⁸ This may well be true since Paul's apparently deliberate attempt at disparaging such experiences as grounds for apostolic

truth of such ecstatic experiences, and purposely twisted them to show how easily they could be falsified. Betz supports his view with the notion that Paul's use of the third person in the vision reveals that he would not boast of himself but would give an ironical boast of this hypothetical figure (cf. v. 5).

We believe Betz' view makes a mockery of this ecstatic vision section. His point is well taken, that Paul wished to show that he placed no dependency upon such boasts for his apostolic legitimacy. However, to suggest that Paul would actually fabricate incidents of 'revelations' is incredible. It would be totally out of character, open to misinterpretation (which he could ill afford) and, coming as it does in close proximity to his appeal for his truthfulness in 11:31 (. . . οὐ ψεύδομαι), it would confirm all the suspicions and attacks which had been made against him and which he had so labouriously attempted to refute.

⁴⁷Cf. Georgi (Georgi, 296, n.5) for a useful list of scholars who have addressed themselves to this issue.

⁴⁸Lincoln ("Paul the Visionary", 211) maintains that Paul's descriptions of the visions actually only involve one visionary experience. Apparently Paul would have been reluctant to reveal this highly personal and cherished incident. Thus after hesitating in the middle of his description, he repeated it a second time. Certainly this is a possibility, however, we fail to observe a similar hesitancy on Paul's part to discuss such experiences elsewhere: cf. Betz, 90-93.

legitimization appears to be in response to the opponents' over-emphasis of such experiences.⁴⁹

Paul's de-emphasis of the vision had the dual effect of allowing him to reject criticism which may have intimated that he had no 'proofs' of spiritual awareness, while also showing that these so-called proofs are totally invalid in judging the truth of apostolic claims.⁵⁰

At the same time, Paul wanted his readers to know that he does not deny the reality of these experiences or the significance they have had in his own life (cf. v.5). He emphasized that the visions were indeed genuine and capable of being a part of his 'boast' (if that were a form of boasting he practiced). However, he proceeded to relate the story of his *σκολόψ τῇ σαρκί*⁵¹ which, he understood was given to him as a reminder of the direction his boast should take.⁵²

It is in this story, how Paul sought relief from what he called an *ἄγγελος Σατανᾶ* that he was able to find

⁴⁹Cf. D. Lührmann (Das Offenbarungsverständnis Bei Paulus Und In Paulischen Gemeinden, WMANT, Band 17, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1965, 58.

⁵⁰Cf. Betz, 93; Oostendorp (Another Jesus) 15.

⁵¹Cf. D. M. Park ("Paul's *ΣΚΟΛΟΨ Τῇ ΣΑΡΚΙ* : Thorn or State?" Nov.T. xxii 2(1980) 179-183) suggests that the term 'stake' would be a more fitting interpretation, "... suggestive of the intensity of the Apostle's suffering"; also R. M. Price ("Punished in Paradise": An Exegetical Theory on II Corinthians 12:1-10 JSNT 7 (1980) 33-40.

⁵²Cf. Lincoln ("Paul the Visionary", 218) who understands the 'thorn' to be a counterbalance to Paul's visionary experience.

a reason for boasting in his insufficiencies (v. 9). The whole structure of Paul's boasting and glorying in weakness was built upon the answer he received to his prayer for relief. It was from that revelation that he was able to understand the true measure of a servant of God, that he recognizes the origin of his true strength and the way in which that strength could be powerfully manifested.⁵³

W His boasting in weakness, then, was not a claim that he was without strength, or that he preached weakness. It was only an acknowledgement of the true lot of man and his relationship with his Lord.⁵⁴ If he truly wanted Christ to work through him, and truly wanted to manifest and exhibit Christ to the world, then, as an apostle, he must not place any obstacle (such as ego, or desire for power) before the reality of Christ's presence with him. By revealing 'less Paul', he was able to reveal 'more Christ'. Thus, his acceptance of weakness is revealed as an effort to

⁵³Ibid., 219: "Because Christ has participated in both this age and the age to come, he can be viewed as both weak and strong. As the exalted heavenly Christ he is now strong, but while his followers remain part of this age their lives will display the paradox of heavenly life and power being demonstrated in the midst of earthly weakness" (cf. Käsemann Legitimitat, 502).

Certainly it is not the experience itself which is the legitimizing factor, rather, it is the intimate communication from the Lord in visions, and other outward appearances which confirms to Paul the efficacy of his apostolic self-understanding.

⁵⁴Lincoln (220): "Apostleship is not at one remove from the life of this age on some higher level of existence. Paul freely acknowledges his limitations and weaknesses . . . because he knows that in his apostleship, participation in the life of the heavenly Man at present also involves bearing his cross".

indicate where human strength ended and where divine strength was able to accomplish all things. In great confidence he wrote: *ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ τότε δυνατός εἰμι* (v. 10).

3) Recapitulation Paragraph

Paul began his return from the 'Digression' in v. 11 as he reminded his readers that it was they who had forced him into that tactic. He had shown them that he was indeed worthy of their commendation rather than their scorn. He also reminded them of his earlier claim (11:5) of not being inferior, although in this digression climax he added the important point: *οὐδέν γὰρ ὑστέρησα τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων, εἰ καὶ οὐδέν εἰμι* . This addition had the effect of transferring the entire debate from an attempt at apostolic 'oneupmanship' to the proper level at which consideration of apostolic qualifications should be decided. Instead of claiming victory over his opponents through his arguments, he showed that it was Corinthian misconceptions which occasioned his boasting in this way. He also proceeded to remind the church that they had been no less favoured by him in the various manifestations of the *σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου* which were highly regarded by them.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Betz (sokratische Tradition, 71) cites Windisch's remarks that Paul was acknowledging that he had performed miracles at Corinth, and mentioned them as proof of his apostleship. However, Betz is not convinced on this point since Paul rejected the opponents' understanding of the function of *σημεῖα* .

We agree with Windisch, with some adjustments. Paul's use of such terms as *σημεῖα* , *τέρασι* , and *δύναμεσιν* need not refer to spectacular power displays, but may only refer to the establishment of the gospel in the city, which Paul understands to be a miracle in its own right (1 Cor. 9:2; 2 Cor. 3:3f). Yet, it does not necessarily follow that Paul

If the Corinthians had followed the argument thus far, they had their criticisms of Paul's legitimacy redefined and answered for them. He had explained to them what it was to be an apostle who was truly in touch with the Lord's will. Paul had also declared that in spite of human weakness, the Lord had worked mightily through him.

All questions concerning his conduct among them should have been resolved through his defense in the 'Digression into Foolishness'.

4) The 'Digression's' Context

As we pointed out earlier, the issues which Paul treated in his 'introduction' had to do with his oratory skill and his financial practices (11:6-12). We discussed how these two issues were so closely related to one another that they may have actually been parts of one major criticism against Paul.

It is at the conclusion of the 'Digression' where we notice that Paul, once again, addressed himself to the issue of his finances (12:13). A striking feature of Paul's argumentation can be noticed in the similarity of the issues (even to the very expressions used to discuss them)

could not lay claim to working miracles (at least this is what the author of Acts would have us believe). It is not the opponents' (or the Corinthians') misunderstanding of the term *σημεία* which Paul attacked, but its usage as a tool for judging apostolic legitimacy. However, as used in this context, it does appear that Paul was speaking of some outward form of 'apostolic signs' which he displayed among them and, possibly, among those in other churches as well. What they consisted of we cannot know. Yet, what Paul may have considered to be 'signs' may not have been accepted by the Corinthians as being spectacular enough.

which are found to occur before and after the 'Digression':

- a) Before: Occasioning his discussion of oratory skill and finances was the statement in 11:5, *λογίζομαι γὰρ μηδὲν ὑστερηκέναι τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων* ;

After: He used very similar terminology, with the addition we have previously noted: *οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑστέρησα τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστολῶν, εἰ καὶ οὐδὲν εἰμι* (12:11).⁵⁶

- b) Before: Paul asked if he had committed a sin (*ἁμαρτίαν*) in his refusal of Corinthian support (11:7);

After: He asks that, because the Corinthians feel less favoured by his non-burdensome ways, he might be forgiven what he sarcastically refers to as *τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην* (12:13).

- c) His non-burdening character in no way inhibited the work he performed among them:

Before: he states that they were exalted (*ὑψωθήτε* , 11:7) and he was able to serve them (*ὑμῶν διακονίαν* , 11:8) specifically because of his financial arrangement with them;

After: he reminded them that though they claim to be less favoured, all the signs of an apostle were performed among them (12:12). These *σημεῖοις* , *τέρασιν* , and *δυνάμεσιν* (12:12) were part of his service of exalting them through his work as an apostle.

⁵⁶Cf. J. Munck (Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, 178) who recognizes the connection between these two references.

- d) His appeal to the fact that he was not a burden to them is contained on both sides of the 'digression';

Before: οὐ κατενάρκησα οὐθενός , 11:9;

After: αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν , 12:13.

- e) Even the mention of Paul's practice in other churches regarding his finances is a topic of discussion on either side of the 'Digression',

Before: ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας , 11:8;

After: τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκκλησίας , 12:13.

- f) Finally, we have the expressions about his foolishness

They clearly show that the 'Digression' properly

began at 11:16 (μὴ τίς με δόξη ἄφρονα εἶναι) and

appears to have ended at 12:11 (Γεγόνᾶ ἄφρων ὑμεῖς με ἠναγκάσατε).⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The πάλιν λέγω of 11:16 refers back to 11:1 (ὅφειλον ἀνείχεσθε μου μικρόν τι ἀφροσύνης). One might wonder if the 'Digression' properly began there, occasioned by the statement concerning boasting in 10:18. It may well be that Paul proposed to begin the 'digression' there. However, factors militate against such an understanding.

We have the obvious problem of the verse in question, 11:16, and why Paul felt it was necessary to repeat the fact that his argumentation might be termed 'foolish' (following Betz and Travis, the 'foolish' character of his argumentation, in our understanding, lies in the fact that it was both an unprofitable and invalid practice). Apparently, he was aware that he had strayed off-course from his design and needed to reintroduce his intentions and his request for the Corinthians to "bear with him" (11:1) and "accept him as a fool" (11:16).

We would suggest, given the consistent flow of thought from 10:18 to 11:16ff, that the intruding passage (11:2-15) can be understood to be an additional introductory note prior to the Apostle's entrance into 'Foolishness'. While it is difficult, and possibly unwise, to try to 'think Paul's thoughts after him', we might be able to notice an instance here, where he had determined to begin and end

For these reasons, we believe 11:1-15 to be the 'Introduction', and 12:11 to be the 'Recapitulation' paragraph. Thus, both sections serve to reveal the proper limits of the 'digression' and specify the occasion for Paul's extraordinary excursion into 'foolish' self-boasting.

In conclusion, while there has been no lack of commentators who have understood Paul's 'Digression into Foolishness' to have been related directly to his argument for apostolic legitimacy, it has been generally overlooked that the same evidence which reveals this fact, also reveals that the occasion for his argument concerning legitimacy had to do with questions concerning his financial practices in Corinth.

Paul's Collection Administration Defended

Paul had now returned to the position where he wished to have been before he was forced (12:11) to enter into the 'Digression'. Emphasizing the fact that his impending visit to Corinth would be his third, he affirmed the continuance of his non-burdensome policy. In these verses we observe a direct linkage of the financial difficulties, relating to his refusal to accept Corinthian support, with the collection issue. Thus, it needs to be noticed that after he had successfully defended his apostleship, he felt the need to turn his attention toward another task, the

his 'Digression' on the issue of his supposed inferiority because of unappreciated financial practices, but, in the 'heat of battle', he began that entrance into 'Foolishness' too early. Once he had retraced his steps to include the issues of oratory and finances, he again (παλιν, v. 16) entered the 'Digression'.

defense of his collection administration and the Corinthian dissatisfaction with it.

The expression in v. 14 οὐ γὰρ ζητῶ τὰ ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς . . . recalled Paul's joy at the participation of the Macedonian church, and their self-giving attitude toward the collection (8:5). Paul emphasized that Corinthian participation would be consistent with this policy since it would aid in firming-up the relationship between the church and their Apostle. He reiterated his desire to be their servant, in a similar way as parents provide service for their children (v. 15). This analogy ties in well with Paul's themes of finances and the possibility of closer communion between Paul and his church as a result of their decision concerning the collection.⁵⁸

Paul's need to reassure them of his willingness to provide them with service was related to the charge he reflected in v. 16 as to his handling (or mishandling) of the offering for Jerusalem. It should be apparent that Paul was not distinguishing between the difficulties he had with the issue of support in v. 14, from the problem of the collection in v. 16f. We do not believe the distinction existed in the minds of the Corinthians. This seems evident from the very nature of the v. 16 charge.

Paul's need to appeal to the conduct of Titus and a brother (v. 18) clearly related to the collection and

⁵⁸Cf. Strachan, 35; Filson, 412; and Tasker 181-182; Barrett, 323 who also understand the connection this way.

the Pauline administration of it.⁵⁹ Paul was thought to have orchestrated the fund in such a way that he would ultimately receive, for himself, more funds than he could normally have expected to receive from originally accepting Corinthian support.⁶⁰

Paul's refutation of these charges in vv. 17-18 rested on the very fact that the Corinthians had nothing but cordial and honest relations with Paul's emissaries in their previous visit. Such relations bespeak only good intentions and should not have been open to suspicion.⁶¹

⁵⁹Cf. Tasker, 183; Oostendorp, 75: "That Paul expressly must exonerate Titus (12, 18) who had played an important role in promoting the collection in Corinth . . . gives a high degree of plausibility to the common assumption that the charge related to the collection."

⁶⁰Barrett's reconstruction is typical: "Paul had made a great show of asking for no money, but he had instituted what purports to be a collection for the poor at Jerusalem, and has pocketed the proceeds for himself" (324); cf. Filson, 414; Tasker, 183; and Strachan, 35, n.1, who provides what might be a plausible reason why Paul was charged with duplicity in the collection administration. He wonders if part of the fund had not been set aside for travel expenses for Paul's party. If Paul had diverted some funds for this use, the suspicion may have circulated as to what other designs he might have on the remainder of the fund. In any event, the Corinthians seem to have mistrusted him.

This view can be nothing more than speculation, but it does give us a circumstance which would alleviate the force of Barrett's comment that a church which could accuse their Apostle of such misdeeds would almost certainly have no basis for continued confidence and pastoral relationship (Barrett, 326, uses this concept to support his view that 10-13 was written after 1-9 on the occasion of the arrival in Corinth of the intruders mentioned in 11:4).

⁶¹On the identification of τὸν ἀδελφόν, both Barrett (325) and A. M. Stephenson ("Partition Theories on II Corinthians" Studia Evangelica II, London, n.d., 642f) believe the singular relates to the fact that one of the two brothers, mentioned as accompanying Titus, are from Paul's company, while the other was from outside Paul's immediate band of fellow-workers and, thus, less open to suspicion (cf. 8:18-19).

Final Warnings

Thus, in v. 19 Paul began to bring the treatment of his defense to an end. He did so by actually denying that he had in fact defended himself.⁶² Instead, Paul asserted that he had been providing such an argument for the Corinthians' edification (ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν οἰκοδομῆς).

We also should notice that Paul was recalling the concept of οἰκοδομῆς in these verses which he stated was the purpose for which he had been given his apostolic authority. This concept is consistent with our view of the purpose of these arguments. Paul believed their loving and obedient participation in the collection would result in their edification (cf. 9:14). Yet, similarly, he believed that he would need to deal severely with them if they failed to obey since that action of punishment would have as its ultimate goal, their correction and thus, their eventual edification. Paul, himself, had stated that his edification concept included the necessity of reproof when the circumstances required it (2 Cor. 7:8ff).

While the indefinite reference may indeed refer to the 'outside' brother, the reference in 8:23 to ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν shows that this argument cannot be pressed too far. Stephenson does provide a useful review of the similarities in terminology between the references to Titus and the brother here and in chap. 8.

⁶²Cf. Barrett, 328; Filson, 415; Clines "2 Corinthians" (A New Testament Commentary), 440. These men all under-Paul to have provided these arguments not only to clear his own name but also to provide a way for full reconciliation between the Corinthians and their Apostle. Thus it is toward this goal that Paul had appealed, as a more important result of his arguments.

Such a view is consistent with the conclusion of the epistle. Paul does not end on a triumphant note, nor does he express any great joy or anticipation of comfort as he ponders the third visit to Corinth he was about to make. Instead, we find an anxiety which, we believe, was due to the fact that the crucial confrontation with the Corinthians was at hand. Thus, we notice that Paul even discusses the possibility of mutual disappointment in each other's expectations which might have been a result of his visit. The possibility of Corinthian disobedience forcing his hand was a grave concern on the Apostle's mind.⁶³

⁶³On the interpretation of the term *ταπεινώση* here, and the possibility of Paul being 'humbled' upon his visit to Corinth, we reject the views of Betz and Bultmann. Of the two, Betz' view commends itself better, as he understands the humbling to involve Paul's anxiety that his physical malady (if, indeed, this is the 'thorn in the flesh') might return to humiliate him before the church (cf. 1 Cor. 2:3; Gal. 4:13; and 1 Thess. 2:1). But Betz' view that Paul sarcastically made this remark seems to be quite inappropriate for the seriousness of his words here (Betz sokratische Tradition, 56).

Bultmann (Exegetische Probleme Des Zweiten Korintherbriefes, Darmstadt: 1963, 30) understands Paul's reference in v. 21 to be related to the possibility that he might have to use his authority against the Corinthians. As such, his authority would be used for a contrary purpose than that for which it was bestowed. Bultmann, however, does not believe Paul would regard such an authoritative use of his power to be a time of 'humbling'. To solve the problem, Bultmann proposes that an *οὐ* has dropped out of the text. Once reinserted, Paul was actually stating that God will not humble him this time.

We are not at all ready to go to the lengths Bultmann does to prove our point. Our understanding of this verse involves the Pauline portrayal of apostleship. Paul would be unable to continue manifesting the strength of God through his own weakness if he relied on certain powers of his authority to subdue the Corinthians. We believe Paul was determined to use his authority if the need arose, yet, he understood the necessity of such actions to be indicative of the failure of his ministry there.

Yet, in spite of his anxiety, Paul does direct the events in this final portion of the epistle in such a manner that we receive the impression that he continued to assume that the majority of the Corinthian church members were inclined to obey him. His main goal in this section was to prepare them for the impending visit and the possible confrontation.

Thus, Paul concluded the 10-13 section much as he introduced it, with the coupling of warnings and threats designed to insure that the Corinthians would be in such a state, when he arrived, that there would be no necessity for him to use his authority against them. The time for discussing and debating their disobedience had passed. They were presented with an opportunity to prove their love and obedience through their participation in the collection. Anything less would reveal that they continued to rebel against their Apostle (and Christ), and were in need of strict disciplinary measures. The decision as to in which manner they wished Paul to continue his ministry at Corinth, had been left up to them.

Conclusion

There can be no doubt that the 10-13 section of 2 Corinthians provides one of the most difficult problems in the field of New Testament criticism. No one who has studied this section carefully can come away from it assured of having every problem solved. Yet, we have tried to show that those solutions which envision a radical partition of the epistle are unnecessary and unwarranted.

Our purpose in the preceding analysis was to provide several reasons why these chapters should be understood to have been occasioned by Paul's presentation of his appeals for Corinthian participation in the collection for Jerusalem. We have attempted to reveal the structure of the chapters, and to show how they indicate the purpose for which Paul wrote. The complicated nature of the section becomes somewhat clearer when we notice the three major issues involved in the Apostle's strategy.

The theme that is most obvious, and the one which has occasioned most of the theories associated with this section, is that of Paul's defense of his apostolic legitimacy. There is no question that Paul spends a great amount of time attempting to convince the church that he was not inferior to the ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων (11:5; 12:11) even though such boasting was determined to be 'foolish'. Paul's difficulties were evident, in that, he needed to re-define the Corinthians' mistaken view of apostleship, and to show that he, indeed, had been faithful to his calling. Under the guise of 'foolishness' Paul presented his arguments for legitimacy in a major digression (11:16-12:10) which focused on his service for the Corinthians as their Apostle, and upon the strength given to him from God to endure the work he needed to perform.

We also observed that on either 'side' of the 'Digression into Foolishness' Paul discussed both the issue of his rejection of support from Corinth (11:6-15; 12:13) and the charge that his administration of the collection had been open to

question (12:16-18). These references provide us with a second major theme, one, we believe, ^{which} takes greater precedence in Paul's purposes in the section. This purpose was to motivate the Corinthians to participate in a proper way in the collection for Jerusalem. We believe it was necessary for Paul to provide a defense of his apostolic legitimacy in order to provide sufficient authority for his collection appeals. The Corinthians needed to view Paul as one who was rightfully able to make these appeals to them, and one who should rightfully expect cooperation from them. Not until the questions concerning his legitimacy, and his collection administration had been cleared up, could Paul expect the church to follow him.

Above all, Paul had been seeking the obedience of the church (10:16). This, we believe, is the major theme of the section chaps. 8-13 and, ultimately, of the entire epistle. Even though the time of outright rebellion had passed, the Corinthians had not fully demonstrated their return to Paul through an outward manifestation of obedience. Because of this need the collection gained far greater significance in Corinth than it had in any other church. It was only at Corinth that the offering took on the significance of being a 'test' of love and obedience (8:8; 24: 9:13).

It was not for the collection that Paul was so anxious, but it was the possible confrontation which might have taken place dependent upon the response of the church to the collection (10:1-2; 13:2-4). The shame Paul feared was not

only for himself being found by the Macedonians to have been incorrect concerning the Corinthians' attitude toward the Jerusalem fund (9:3-4). The greater fear was that the church, once again, would be found to be disobedient and, this time, would force his hand in order to discipline them.

We believe these three themes, and their interrelationships must be properly understood in order to correctly determine Paul's purpose in writing chaps. 10-13, as he does, immediately after chaps. 8-9. The two sections stand as contrasting arguments concerning the same issue of the Corinthian participation in the collection, its significance, and its possible results.

Conclusions and Contributions of the Study

As a result of our study, we believe the following conclusions can be proposed:

1) We understand the Collection issue to have held great personal, ecclesiastical and eschatological significance for the Apostle Paul. The successful administration of the fund was understood by him to be a demonstration of the grace of God at work among the gentiles. Such a demonstration, while fulfilling its proper role for ecclesiastical unity and Christian fraternal love, would also be a vindication of the gentile missionary endeavour, and a vindication for Paul, himself, as the apostle to the gentiles.

2) We believe the collection received a considerable amount of opposition in the Corinthian context. We have suggested that Paul's Corinthian opponents (at least those commonly called 'the intruders' who appear in 2 Corinthians) were Jewish (possibly Christian, also) who may have opposed the offering on the grounds that it was a substitute temple-tax which sought to destroy the Jerusalem Temple by re-distributing funds which would have normally been used for Temple maintenance. Thus Paul's collection may have been interpreted to be a direct attack upon Judaism and the Temple cult.

3) We also understand the Corinthians to have objected to Paul's administration of the collection. While they do not appear to have opposed the offering in principle, it seems that Paul's association with the fund caused the Corinthians to suspect the integrity of the endeavour. The

church appears to have been generally dissatisfied with Paul's financial relationship with them. He appeared to be quite inconsistent in his practices, and possibly 'crafty' in his actions regarding his refusal of apostolic support from Corinth.

Paul's attempt to remain consistent to the ἀνάγκη - concept, as he explained it to them in 1 Cor. 9, was interpreted to be blatant inconsistency. Suspicions apparently arose as to the honesty of his collection appeals and the offering's final destination (i.e., Paul's pocket!).

Further, it appears that as part of their campaign against Paul and the collection for Jerusalem, and for their own authoritative establishment in Corinth, the 'intruders' had argued that Paul's distinctiveness in regard to the issue of support demonstrated the fact that he was not, in fact, a true apostle at all. Consequently, the Corinthians appear to have demanded proof from Paul of his legitimacy and, thus, his right to administer the collection.

4) Thus we are able to understand the fact that as Paul wrote this epistle, prior to his third visit to Corinth, he could in no way be sure that the Corinthian church would obey his appeals for their participation. For Paul, the Corinthian response to the fund would be tangible evidence of the degree of the reconciliation, which Titus had indicated, was taking place. Thus, in Corinth, the collection took on the added significance of revealing how effective his ministry had been in that church. However, Paul was anxious for this demonstration since, the church's response would be witnessed

by a group of Macedonian representatives who expected the Church to fulfill the boasts Paul had made about them. Paul's ministry in Corinth, and his reputation throughout the church generally were all at stake as he approached this third visit.

Therefore we believe we have demonstrated the crucial importance of the collection issue as a major occasion for Paul's writing of 2 Corinthians. Thus, when Paul wrote the epistle, he attempted to argue in the following way:

1) He sought to answer certain criticisms of his ministry among the Corinthians by appealing to his role as an obedient servant of God. Such a servant, Paul explained with illustrations from his own life, needed to be constantly aware of, and responsive to, the will of God. Thus, his ministry, with all its apparent contradictions and inconsistencies, was vindicated and legitimized by the fact that it was divinely directed. Paul attempted, then, to firm up the reconciliation process through such a vindication, and likewise, tried to prepare the Corinthians for his appeals concerning the collection (chaps. 1-7).

2) In his argument for Corinthian participation in the collection, we believe Paul presented both the positive (chaps. 8-9) and the negative (chaps. 10-13) sides of the issue. That is, while he appealed for the Corinthians to obey his appeals, he also described for them the joyous results, or dangerous consequences, which would result from their response to the fund.

In chaps. 8-9, we have described how Paul sought to motivate the church by providing the example of the Macedonians' response to the same fund, the self-giving obedience of Jesus Christ, and their own former willingness to be included in the offering. Finally, we graphically portrayed Paul's vision of how proper Corinthian participation would result in the fulfillment of the will of God in the matter, would result in an attitude of joy and love between the Corinthian and Jerusalem church communities, and, significantly, would reveal the obedience of the Corinthians toward God (through Paul's ministry) which, consequently, would reveal the grace of God at work in gentile communities. These appeals are set in the form of a 'test' of the Corinthians' earnestness, love and obedience.

3) Further, we presented the concept that the figure of a 'test' demanded a provision in the Pauline argument concerning the consequences of Corinthian failure. Given the nature of the church's past relationship with Paul, the importance of the collection to him and his ministry, and the opposition against his administration of the fund, we believe Paul presented the negative side of the issue in chaps. 10-13. In these chapters, he appealed to the Corinthians to actively demonstrate their obedience toward him and, thus, avoid the implementation of his disciplinary ἐξουσία which he proposed to use against those who denied the legitimacy of his apostleship (possibly the 'intruders').

We noticed that Paul provided the 'Digression into Foolishness' for the purpose of supplying an authoritative

support for the legitimacy of his apostolic status. This digression was occasioned by continued Corinthian suspicion of his financial integrity. Thus, he established his right to be regarded as an apostle through whom God manifested his strength and grace, and Paul established his right to be the administrator of the collection. Thus, Paul made his case for the necessity of the Corinthians to obey his appeals concerning that offering.

With the collection issue, then, we believe we have identified an internal link between the two major divisions of the epistle (chaps. 1-9 and 10-13). Therefore, this study has contributed to the solidification of the view that 2 Corinthians is a unified epistle, written as it has been transmitted, with all its integrity intact. The collection issue provides us with a major occasion and purpose for the epistle, while it compliments the external evidence by providing an internally discernible link between the 'problem' sections. The tonal change, which for so long had rendered most solutions to this problem untenable, can be properly understood to be consistent with Paul's transition from a 'positive' to a 'negative' treatment of the issue. The apostolic defense, found in 10-13, can also be understood in its context, as supplying the authoritative support for Paul's demand for Corinthian obedience toward the collection.

It appears to us, therefore, that this linkage provides for us many insights into Paul's skill as a polemicist and as a rhetorical strategist. We gain a new appreciation, also

for the drama of the occasion of his third visit to Corinth. As a unity, the epistle of 2 Corinthians provides us with a most interesting and exciting climax to the Corinthian correspondence.

Contributions of the Study

While it is quite difficult, and possibly foolhardy, in New Testament critical scholarship, to regard one's own work as 'original', we do wish to point out those areas of our presentation which, we believe, represent some fresh insights, or cast some much needed light, on the complicated epistle known as 2 Corinthians:

1) We have endeavoured to argue that the collection issue provides the crucial internal linkage between chapters 1-9 and 10-13. This internal link compliments the impressive external textual tradition of the epistle in such a way that, we believe, they provide very strong support for the unity and integrity of the epistle.

2) As a consequence of the main thesis, we have provided a 'new-look' for the epistle. We have attempted to interpret certain 'trouble spots' such as the 'Great Digression', 6:14-7:1, and the 'Digression into Foolishness' in light of our thesis. Thus, rather than being understood as being a peripheral issue, the collection for Jerusalem, we believe, is revealed to be one of the major occasions for Paul's composition of the epistle.

3) We believe we have shed some light on Paul's purpose in 2 Cor. 9:13-15. Our graphic portrayal of the 'Triangular Relationship' focuses on the hypothetical nature

of the vision concerning the proper outworking of the collection, its significance in the context of ecclesiastical unity, fraternal Christian love and obedience toward God. Thus, this vision provides for us the most comprehensive Pauline description of his own understanding of the fund's purposes.

4) Related to the 'vision', we have proposed 9:15 to be the hypothetical content of the prayer, Paul believed, the Jerusalem church would be moved to offer in light of Corinthian participation in the collection. This identification of the verse's purpose has the effect of placing the tonal change between 9:15 and 10:1 into a proper perspective. Thus, Paul ends his hypothetical vision in 9:15 and returns to his appeals for the Corinthians to demonstrate their obedience toward him, and avoid the consequences which would be incurred by the disobedient. The tonal change, then, is less dramatic or unexpected. Our view that 10:1 begins Paul's negative treatment of the issue allows us to incorporate the tonal change into the context as a proper expression of Paul's purposes.

5) We believe our treatment of Paul's financial relationship with his churches also sheds some new light on a difficult problem. Our analysis of the comprehensive force of the 1 Cor. 9 *ἀνάγκη* -concept, while not a new argument, allows us to understand the Corinthian view of Paul's actions and the reasons why they attacked him on the issue of apostolic support. Thus, we have also provided an understanding of the Corinthian hesitancy to participate in

the collection. Their view of Paul's financial dealings had caused them to be suspicious of his motives with regard to the collection as well.

We have also provided a possible solution to the somewhat contradictory statements made by Paul on the issue of his financial principles and practices with his churches (1 Cor. 9; 2 Cor. 11:7f; 12:13ff; 1 Th. 2:9; 2 Th. 3:8-9; Phil. 1:15; 4:10, 15-16; Acts 20:18ff). While our view that the epistle to the Philippians may have an Ephesian origin is not at all new, our connection of that argument with the financial dealings of the Apostle may provide some needed support for that controversial issue.

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